



# FOVRE BOOKES of Offices:

ENABLING PRIVATE  
persons for the speciall seruice of  
all good Princes and Policies.

Made and deuised by BARNABE BARNES.



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# TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE LORD, *JAMES*

by the grace of God King of great *Bri-*  
*taine, France, and Freland, Defender*  
of the Faith, &c.

And in him, *Barnabe Barnes* (the most humble  
and loyall Subiect of his Maiestie) wisheth the very  
perfection of all spirituall and temporall felicitie.

## *Blessed Soueraigne.*

**A**lust King (which like a single eye fixt in the righteous scepter of God, and by divine ordination sent as a bright Angell of his worship to gouerne amongst the children of men) is hystoglyphically represented by figure of the sun. For as a vertue which vertueth other inferiour Starres, it holdeth the golden bridles of the day: whose seate is therefore by preheminence esteemed most noble, because as a lust Judge placed in the middest, it equaly distributeth light to those other Planets, giuing grace to Saturnes grauitie, might to Iupiters maiestie, fortitude to the force of Mars, beneuolence to the beautie of Venus, pith to the persuasion of Mercurie, with constancie to the Moones mutabilitie by the royll gouernment of his equall power and diuine sapience, which moderateth all unstayed perturbations of his people, as the Moone doth (by noble influence from it) restraine all turbulent and outragious billowes

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of the violent seas, being through domination of this seventh sphere so metaphysically kept within their bounds, that they cannot transgresse nor usurpe vpon earth. The Sunnes Chariot also (representing the iudgement seate of imperiall authoritie) drawne by foure horses figuring the foure columnes of royall majestie, deciphered in these insuing offices, leadeth him through the Zodiak of the twelue Morall vertues ; in and through which hee raigneth and gouerneth vpon earth in comfort, peace, and plentie, blessing the foure mightiest Princes of this world with the light of his countenance : as in ministring fire to Vulcanus, ~~with~~ <sup>to</sup> Pal-las the gray morning and balmy verdure of Ayre, whith repurifieth her vnderstanding with knowledge ; to the great towering Goddesse Ops that motherly fruitulnesse, which crowneth Ceres, Bacchus, Minerua, Pales, with corne, wine, oyle, and milke ; lastly, to Neptune and Thetis, that infinite seede ingendred and multiplied of them in the waters : so that those foresaid Elements (out of whose vertues all creatures liuing & vegetant are by diuine ordinance composed) receiue life, and influence from the Sunne. This kingly Planet likewise holdeth dominion ouer the torments of hell; which should seem to be made out of the excesse and poison of those foure Elements ; as is evident by those angels which fell from the three hierarchies for their sins in pride, disobedience, floath, wrath, enuie, lecherie, and gluttonie : for by the diuine musicke of Orpheus, these furies and torments were appeased, so that hee brought thence his wife Euridice. For Phœbus is by the philosophicall Poets mythologically called, the God and Patron of Musick, Prophecies, and Chirurgerie : which was to life expressed by that holy King *David*, who (being both a blessed Prophet, and diuine in lyricall musicke) had by force of his melodie charmed that euill spirite, wherewith King *Saul* was possessed. Onely the chyrurgeries wherein true Princes are principally skilled, appeare in the faced notice and cure of those inward diseases and griefes that infect and maccerate their flockes, which they like good and fotherly Shepheardes should heale with good Lawes and Discipline. And yet your Grace, hath that oyle of grace and comfort powred vpon you more then your fellow-princes, to cure all mischievous and infistulated impostumes which GOD smiteth vpon

*Barth. Cessan.  
in confit. ter-  
re partis catal.  
gior. mundi.*

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most excellent *Maiestie.*

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vpon the iawes of his people, to make your glories the more in healing, and his glories infinite by those blessings bestowed vpon your annointed hands (which diseases are otherwise remedilesse) being a diuine gift from aboue to that holy King *Edward* your Maiesties antecelsor, and after him to the rest of his sanctified seed by sacred direction legacied, as hath formerly beene to the Kings of France also. Wherfore your Highnesse ( being *Vnctus in regem & sacerdosem cum unguento latissia super omnes terrae reges socios tuos*) fitly resemble this bright Planet in his clearest Maiestie; even as that most sacred Psalmist King *David* also, both for your Poeticall faculties, as in respect of your diuine Priest-hood, and chirurgearie, hauing by good experience (more then any man liuing euer did) tasted of the wonderfull wisedome and loue of God; who by such strange wayes surpassing humane reason, hath wrought out your Graces fortune in the weale of vs your louing and loyall subiects, farre beyond all the wily machinations, plots, and imaginations of men, which haue (as your Royaltie well knoweth) beene manifoldly frustrated; that it might bee performed which God had ordained and promised by the mouthes of diuers sooth-saying Augers, to perfect and establish in your seede the true triumphant and vniuersall Christian Monarchie. Howbeit as no man liuing can haue a sweeter taste or clearer declaration of Gods vnspeakable power (beyond all the soundest counsels & resolutions of our mortal Princes) then your Grace hath had in all actions; considering the strange meanes that hath been wrought by God through the plots of men destined to other purposes, to make your name glorious, and that your royll seede might inherite this Empire: so neede wee not doubt but that like a good Phisition, your Maiestie (as it hath already graciously begun the cure of some small diseases in this kingdome, which God onely left vnto your gacious wisedome, that the whole body might be kept cleane and at ease) shall auspiciously continue the same, to be the same vnder the golden rodde of your right royll posteritie for ever, by strong purgation and correction of the proud, cholericke, and melancholick humors thereof, which is the true methode of a kingly Phisition, and shall doubtlesly bring the head and whole bodie to perfect peace, and health.

Against

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Against the Sunne ( vpon which no reasonable creature can stedfastly fixe his mortall eyes, least they be dazed, infeebled, or blinded with the pretious cleareretie thereot (being another type of sacred Maiestie) that imperiall bird soueraigning ouer the swift fethered creatures of the ayre by nature opposeth his sight : as *Orus Apollo* writeth in his hieroglyphiks, how the Sages of Aegypt and Chaldaean Priests (whē they would signifie diuine power, humane Empire, preheminence, blood, or victorie) did pourtraict an Eagle. What miracles he findeth through his stedfast, sharpe, and penetrating inspection within that sanctified Orbe of bright vertue, may be referred to those mysticall naturallists, which in the Metaphysicall cardes of their reason haue obscurely shadowed those things, that by mythologies are out of many curious heades from farre shot at, by some neere hit, and by very few truely touched. *Caius Iul. Cesar* (to whom this Land with others contributed) gaue in his ensigne of golde, a blacke Eagle perpendicularly mounting : which *Plinie* noteth in the nature of that bird. For it is written, that ouer *Cesars* Hoasts when he marched to fight, divers Rauens and Vultures did houer, and that two Crowes prodigiously with their wings and tallons eager in combination, strooke at his Beuer; wherupon auspiciously came an Eagle which (combating against their violence) flewe them both; and then immediatly perched vpon his imperiall crest. This ominous prodigie by the Augers was interpreted sinisterly, that *Cesars* insuing gouernment should be tyrannous : since which time the Romane Emperors haue alwayes borne in their ensignes that royal bird, with which fortunately spreading his wings against their enemies, the Romanes did generally tryumph in many victories, and conquests. This Eagle also viuely representeth vnto vs, your Maiesties person, being onely your Highnesles scepter-bearing bird, with siluer fethers; which with his auspicious wings shadoweth the crownes of this Britaine Monarchie with peace of soule and bodie rooted in your blessed posteritie for euer. Vpon earth next to the Sunne and ayre, that aufull Magistrate (if of his Maiestie men may so terme the Lyon, bearing the scheme and figure of magnanimitie, which hath dominion ouer foure-footed beasts) is another portly representation of a perfect Prince : for he

## most excellent Maiestie.

he despiseth dangers, remembreth & obserueth him that shal woud his bodie, though he be impaled with millions of men; the he mercifully spareth which vpon his pursuit prostrate their bodies; women and children (vilesse vpon extreme hunger) he wil not hurt. Vigilancie (being another right royall garbe of a carefull prince) was portended by the picture of a lyons head; for somuch as that beast onely sleepeth with his eyes open: *Qui tanquam sol patens* Part. Caffan. 78. confid. 12. *neoque oculo terram conspicit.* This noble creature in the person of fortitude vpon the right hand supporteth the royall Escucheon of your imperiall crowne, assisted in our late deare soueraignes, and your Maiesties famously remembred sisters governement with prudence and vigilancie, portended by the Dragon; and since her death (if it may bee so called) with temperance, not exchanged; but as with the perfections of all vertues relieved, or reuiued rather in your Highnesse Vnicorne: of all these your blessed Maiestie royalty participateth, as in the person of a true vertuous, and sanctified king vpon earth. Vile is that wretched analogie, which the corrupt Florentine Secretarie *Nicolo Machiauelli*, seruant to Duke *Pietro di Medici*, did in his puddle of princely policies produce betwixt a true Prince and a mixt monster; resembling him (by the example of *Achilles* who was instructed by *Chyron the Centaure*) vnto a lion & fox, importing his strength & caution in all affaires: whereas it is well knownen, how no true prince can aptly be compared to that vnsauory curre, if the very royall minde (which amply possesseth every iust King) bee respected. For why not much more fitly might the comparison of Kings with Eagles then with base Foxes haue sorted, if that imperiall birde which in opposition with his eye-brightnesse amiably looketh into the sun, can search, and penetrat into the perfection of wisedome and knowledge, being figurately shadowed in Phœbus or Apollo, bearing also with him the thunderbolts of Jupiter (who mystically reueileth soueraigne Maiestie) to grinde, burne, and consume into powder the violence of his enemies? semblably me seemeth, that there should not be found any such difference in the state and condition of Princes, which the subtile Italian Sanazar made of a Pope in his time; that he was *Bonus Princeps & malus vir*: because he knew well how to gouerne, and did rule the people well, hauing

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no proper facultie (by moderation of his owne appetites) to bee good vnto himselfe ; for as Cicero citeth it out of *Ennius, Ne quicquam sapere sapientem, qui sapientis professe nequieris*: ( being intended there by the minde onely) so certaintely cannot any Prince be verely good vnto himselfe, if he doe not gouerne his flocke (which is the greater part of himselfe) in the feare of God and exercise of Justice : whence it was that Homer termed *Agamemnon* in one place, Ποιητης αετος: and in another part Βασιλευαρδος: aswell for the pastorall charge, as for the prudent counsell and alsiduitie required in him towards that function. Sanctitie & Justice therefore (as I first said) by the propagation,corroboration, and aeternization of all crowns and Monarchies, are the two maine pillars of principalitie; being those inseperable adiuncts of your right royall Maiesties lawfull and vicit orious quadruple crowne of Great Brittaine, France, and Ireland, composed of the 4. cardinall vertues, which in this ensuing myrrour, framed out of the 4. immediate ministers or columnes rather of kingly Maiestie, with all humble dutie subiecting the impolished as they be, to your princely eyes, I present to your royall hands, vnder a special pardō for my boldnes in daring as a poore vnlearned Scholler (which offereth his ignorance in some rude exercise vnto his learned Schoole-master) to trouble your sacred Maiestie with these imperfections. Howbeit, as every man which writeth ought to rest vpon & leane vnto the grace of his Patrone; so can it not choose, but that hauing chosen so gracious a Patrone, farre exceeding all other in goodnes, I shall finde more true grace and beneficence out of your royall nature, for this one Caracter of my bounden dutie respected by such a Soueraigne, then by the beneuolence of any subiect. And therefore I presumed to your high Grace, being the Castalian spring head (which the Greek Sages did say to be patronized by that bright Lord of wisdome & Poetrie) thinking there (after my labours) to refresh my troubled sences : where though vnworthy to tast, yet shal I receiue some ingenuous alacritie, by seeing that pure & preciouly-purling current. And that I may the more to my consolation contemplate the royall sun-shine and serenitie which enuironeth your sacred temples (though your Grace lay not apart the beames of your Maiestie) yet vouchsafe I beseech, with your diuine annointed hands to anoint

*most excellent Maiestie.*

point these eyes of your humble subiect with the balmie dew of your gracious beneuolence, that I may bee the better enabled to looke vpon that consecrated Orbe of true maiestie; for had I been so timerous or faint, as in the regard of the vnworthiness of my Booke protected the same by some priuate friend: then had I somewhat withdrawn from worth of the matter, which (howsoeuer the method and disposition thereof deserueth) doth also merite a royall Master, and had miscarried in the manner of my proceeding also: thinking that because these foure insuing estates immediately ministering vnder all crownes in every Common wealth, are protected by royall soueranitie, your Grace was fitteſt also to patronize these my ſimple ſtudies wholy conuering in the properties and attributes of thofe Offices; which ſhall bee moſt highly honoured by the maiesticall protection of ſuſh a vertuous King, to his poore ſubiects exceeding comfort. My coniideration therefore was, that your Highneſſe out of the Princely nature, which God with your Eſſence hath iuſtified, would deigne ſo ſimple preſent of a poore Scholler, with the beneuolence which your Grace natu‐uely doth extend to learning: and that being hereaſter published vnder that high Title many learned eyes, and curious fingers (not ſo much for the matter & forme of the Trea‐tise, as for the Maiestie patronizing it) would perufe theſe yong rules in this vnprefect accedence to gouernment, and percaſe beare them through diuers of your Maiesties Kingdomeſ.

I haue alſo through my whole diſcourse (as occaſion ſerued) in diuers places made a continuall Apoſtrophe to your Maiestie, which I beſeech your Highneſſe (euē as it is in ſinceritie) ſo to refer it vnto the true meaning of my moſt dutiſull & immaculate hart towards your Grace, and not to any vaine ſingularitie, nor presumption in my ſelf. The God of al true light continueth that illumination, bright‐neſſe, and wiſeſom, which appeareth in your true graces, by that figure of the Sunne; conſirme that piercing, inspection, apprehenſion, & prenotion of all princely deuiles, wiſdoms & practiſes, which may be bent in opposition to your Maiestie by forren kings, de‐cypheſed in that imperial Eagle; & corroborate that true fortitude to the conuulfion of Gods & of your Highneſſe enemies, which is expreſſed in the royal Lyon; ſo that your kingdomeſ being ſuſte‐ned, amplerified, & conſerued by Iuſtice, prudence & fortitude frō

*To the Kings most excellent Maiestie.*

posteritie to posteritie through many generations, so long as it shall please God evenly to softeine this earth in her owne place within the firmaments, such serenitie may beame forth from yout gracious wisedome; as foreuer may moue the peoples hearts of these your Kingdomes, of all your confederates and contributo- ries, to daunce inwardly with praise and thankefulnesse vnto God, for that bleſſing which through your Graces speciall goodneſſe infinitely succee- deth to Gods people vnder your imperiall Scepter.

*Your most high Maiesties*

most humble and obedient

*Subiect.*

**BARNABE BARNES.**

To Master *Barnabe Barnes*, this Madrigall  
Upon his Booke.

IF all the world were sought from *Malta* to *Mone*,  
From candid *Garde*, to black-brow'd *Calicutt*;  
No frame more various mought have been made one  
In eu'ry ioynt, or point like absolute:

For as some Spirits while they haue beeene attent  
On states of Princes, and on earthly right,  
Haue follow'd the wordly side, with that intent,  
And yet vnmindfull of the highest Sprite.

Others againe (too much I ween yblent  
With heauenly zeale and with Religion)  
Haue for the same the Secular forwent:  
So if a meane there be (as meane but one  
To twine the Crossier with the sword atone)  
O let me then (with licence) to avow,  
T'will, right *Paladine*, be by onely you.

*W. Percy.*

*MVSOPHILYS.*

*Spes calamo occidit.*

In honour of the Author by *Ibo: Campion*  
Doctor in Physick. To the Reader.

Though neither thou doost keepe the Keyes of State,  
Nor yet the counsels (Reader) what of that?  
Though th'art no Law-pronoucer mark't by fate,  
Nor field-commander (Reader) what of that?  
Buy and let this Booke, for if thou mind'st to be  
Vertuous, and honest, it belongs to thee.  
Here is the Schoole of *Temperance*, and *Wit*,  
Of *Justice* and all formes that tend to it;  
Here *Fortitude* doth teach to liue and die,  
Then, Reader, loue this Booke, or rather buy.

*EIVS DEM AD AVTHOREM.*

*Personas proprijs recte virtusibus ornas*  
(*Barnesi*) liber hic viuet, habet Genium,  
*Personae virtus umbra est; hanc illa refulcit*,  
*Nec scio splendescat corpus, an umbra magis.*

*aj*

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To my singular good friend Ma-  
ster Barnabe Barnes.

**G**raue Architector of a Commonweale,  
Well trauail'd in the mysteries of state,  
Vouchsafe me roome, among the rest some deale,  
Thy loftie frame to view, and wonder at :  
And where the workmanship doth please mine eye,  
To say, t'was wrought with painefull industrie.

That's euer y where, for all doth merit praise,  
The forme, the fyme foundation, and the fiane.  
The forme Quadrangular, most meete to raiſe,  
A Pallace sacred to eternall fame,  
Founded on wisedome, builded vp on high,  
With goodly lawes, and Christian policie.

Vp held with foure strong Piles, whose bases ar,  
Sage Counſell, awfull Iuſtice, armed Mift.  
Aboundant Treaſure, ſinewes of the war  
Theſe make it ſtrong to laſt, and faire to ſight.  
Where foure ſuch pillers doe the bulke ſustaine,  
What feare we thunders, tempests, winds, or raine.

Heere maift thou fix with bold Alcmena's ſonne,  
N I L V L T R A, as the fartheſt continent,  
That wiſeſt ſtatist euer yet did runne,  
Within this world of ciuill gouernment.  
And as the wooke, ſo doth the ſtyle excell,  
That of Borerus, Bodin, Machiauelli.

*Tho: Michelborne.*

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R. H. In commendation of the Author.

Some vncouth Muse which mountes vpon the wings  
Of siluer fountaines, or sweet breathing windes,  
Chaunt out her notes when she diuinely singes  
To dignifie the state of these foure kindes:  
Which Treasurers to moderation bindes.  
And gracious prudence to graue men of State,  
Where *Themis* rules of sacred Iustice findes;  
Where fortitude doth sword-men animate,  
O let some potent muse, these great designes relate.

And let bright fame whose worthy spirit pearceth  
The worlds whole center and those heauely speeres,  
Assume this taske for him, which here reheriseth  
These morall Offices of States and Peeres.  
And thou that soundest in the prudent eares  
Thy golden trumpet of rich Oratorie,  
Gracious *Thalia*, let these learned Queares  
Be graced as thou doest, each gracious Story,  
That *B A R N B S* may liue by them, in euerlasting glorie.

Robert Hafill.

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*John Forde* in commendation of his very  
good friend the Author.

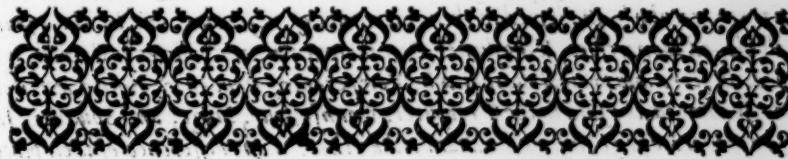
Not to adorne, but to commend this Frame,  
Drawne by the curious hand of iudgements art;  
Nor to commend, for this commends the same;  
But solace to thy labours to impart :  
A worke of thankes, out liuing terme of fate,  
In briefe prescriptions of a formall State.

Great were thy paines, but greater is thy fame,  
Lock't in the Iewel-house of precious treasure;  
Which doth by Counfailes wisedome reare thy name,  
In equall Iustice of well-ballac't measure;  
Thou teachest souldiers discipline of fight,  
And they againe defend thy merits right.

Write on rare Myrrour of these abieſt dayes;  
Thy good example others will aduise :  
Thy ſubieſt values loue, thy Studies praise,  
A president to youth, life to the wiſe :  
So euer ſhall (while times and Empires laſt)  
Thy workeſ by thee, thou by thy workeſ be gracie.

*Verba, decor, grauitas, confirmans, denosar, ornat,  
autem lepidum, ye, grauitate, manu.*

*Iohannes Forda Encomiaſtes.*



## Barnabe Barnes his Preface to the honourable and discrete Reader.

**T**Haue apporsioned my foure bookeſ of Offiſes (wherin certayne ſpeciall qualitieſ and principleſ are expreſſed for generall gouernement, and the chafe booke of ciuill and mariall minifters in every Commonwealth) unto the foure vertueſ cardinall. For as much therefore as roiall treaſure (being the maиtene‐nance of every ſtate, without which no principaſtieſ can con‐fift, or augmeſt) ought to be miſtically couched within the di‐vine treaſure Temperaſce (which is the moderatoſ or guide of her other three ſiſter vertueſ enſuing) I therefore haue placed Temperaſce in thiſ first Paralel, conſidering the reſemblance which it ſhould haue with a Princeſ treaſure, ſo well in the manner of geſting & leuying, as in the ſauing & diſbursing of mony by diſcrete moderation, which office of Treaſurers poſſeſſeth the firſt booke of theſe officeſ.

Prudence the ſubſtance of my ſecond booke (deciphered & figured in the ſecret counſellors office) paſtiipaſteſ of thiſ reaſonable moderation, which is expreſſed in thiſ firſt. Also Temperaſce the treaſurer with a graciouſ mildneſ & moſtherly decen‐cy prudeliſtly pondereth and examineſt all her actions, which are right noble and many, with her paſtions. Yet is it contrauertiſle whether temperaſce be paſſionate or no; though one of her ſweeſt graces gouerneſt in paſtience.

My thiſt booke comprehendeth Juſtice, which is in all cauſes ſeafonede with a re‐quiſite moderation and taſte of ingenuouſ tempeſtance, and prudence: tempeſtance being of it ſelue an indiſſerencie void of extremitie, viuely repreſenteth Juſtice, be‐ing incoportate with equitie and prudence: because with a certayne prouident ci‐cumſpection it iuſtly weigheth all thiſt in the ba lance of reaſon.

My fourth booke (in the ſame ranke conteinig certayne qualitieſ of a true ſoul‐dier) heroically repreſenteth Fortiſtude; which with Temperaſce expreſſed in her paſtience, with Prudence in her foreſight, and actions of honourable perill, with Juſtice in the execution and maиteneſtance of right, without any tolleration of publicke violence ſiſterly combineth: whereaſ ſemblably temperaſce in her bridling and re‐ſtraining of inordinate appetitie, prudence in her stout and conſtant equabilitie, Juſtice in her ſeuere and firme equaliſtie (being merely pure from all blemiſhes of feare and affection) are all in theſelues a forſiude.

This is a diuine harmoſie repreſenting menially by due diſtriбуſion of hu‐mane charitie, the ſacred uniſon of mans ſoule ſanctified with God. This is that myſterie

# The Preface.

which Hermes, Salomon, Pythagoras, Solon, Plato, Socrates, & Aristotle, haue all of them or acularly shadowed in their eternities of wisedome: and by these fourre are all blessed Monarchies, Kingdomes, Commonweales, and policies susteined, governed, directed and protected, that is by Temperance, Prudence, Justice and Fortitude, shadowed as I said in the Treasurer, Counsellour, Judge, and Souldier: for they be moderate, wise, iust, and valiant alike; that nor any difference of their places is discerned, which of them may be greater or lesse then another.

To this harmonious consent or concordance (whose ground in thison consisteth of a medium, which is the moderator or navel-string of it is unspeakable musick, representing the concealed and mysticall accord of the numberlesse starres and planetis communing by the ineffable power of the most Almightrie God in number and Symphonie; by which sacred force he worketh his will in all creatures: from far all influence of which diuine torches of light, by the most miraculous power of the most mighty mouer, all worldly chaunces happen; which some not well advised haue called the wheel of fortune) there are extreames by the most metaphysicall disposition ordained prenariacaring or transgressing those fourre diuine centres, or moderators, which I doe thus denominase, define, and distribue.

To Temperance therefore my first counterenor, one base, and one ale: for our of discords with the counterenor (being moderator) is the concord composed of perfect harmonie. The base hereof is covetous and unnescessarie penurie when abilitie doth sufficently rebound; the triple or ale is raised from extreame profusion or excessse, making a shrill and riotous confusion of all: one of these extreames continually conning in basenesse and the other in haughtinesse throughout; as in the rest ensuing.

To Prudence which is my second countertenor or moderator, the base falleth into follie; the triple or ale lifterh is selfe into malicious wilinesse and calliditie. Herein doth follie participate with the first being covetousnesse, in that it wanteth a reasonable discretion to make use and comfort of Gods blessings bestowed: In extreame opposition thereof malicious craft or wilinesse accordeth with the first ale, that in publike and priuate affaires, it is a secre consumer; as extreame profusion or prodigallitie wasteth both publike and priuate treasure; the persons qualite being considered.

Thirdly to Justice which is my next moderator, the vile base is dissolute indulgence or secure lenitie, when honestie by the couin of iniquitie lieth mortally wounded, and iniquitie scaping punishment receiueth honour and support: the triple or ale, extreame crueltie. Dissolute lenitie therefore in this consenteth with the first base which is called covetousnesse or unreasonableness; for as much as contrarie to reason, is couereth a confusion of other mens estates by sparing the wicked; as couertie doth of other mens possessions by sauing of her owne, herein alluding to the second base which is follie: because such kind of foolish pitie or mercie (as some men serue it) cannot haue any taste of discretion or charitie. Likewise extreame crueltie consenteth oppositely with the first ale prodigallitie thus; by being so lawsh and prodigall of blood as that other is of treasure: and with the second ale being craftie wilinesse; that in the prodigall effusion of blood, or in the tragical end of impious, nefarious, and barbarous treasons, conspiracies, and murthers, malicious craftinesse from crueltie differeth not.

Fowrthly

# The Preface.

Fourthly so fortitude (which is the last moderator) the base is basenesse of spirit or pusillanimie, proceeding from inordinate sloash, feare, and luxurie, which is a subjection, or rather mancipation of the mind to basish and brutish affections, passions and perturbations, when appetitie tyranizeth ouer reason: the triple or else audacious temeritie. Pusillanimie therefore in this consisteth with miserable and amaricious sparing (which is the first base) that is as fearefull and miserably parsimoniouse of a little harish blood, when honourable causes summon it like a iudge in sharles iustly to defend his owne with the guard of his heroycall spiritis, and to contend for rights; as that other basenesse is of treasure when speciall reasons doe most require a liberalitie: and with the second base being follie shew; that there can not appeare any more foolishnesse, then when people timerously and basely without resistance damne themselues voluntarily to the tyrannous gallies of their owne inward and outward enemies, wheras with a little paines and knyting of themselues up togesher they might restraine or vanquish them both: also with the third base, which is secure lenitie: for what weakenesse and abiection of mind can be discerned in one more then in another? for lenitie wilfully confoundeth every private and publike estate; whereas basenesse or softnesse of spirit or pusillanimie (the persons qualitie being respected) doth the same. Furthermore audacious temeritie, which violently without reason doth precipitate it selfe into perils herein oppositely concordeth with prodigalitie being the first aile; that it is more profuse (if possible) in effusion of blood, in rash participation and abbarreting of mutinies and quarrels then that other excesse is of treasure, of unreasonable and inconsiderate expenses riot and surfeits: and with the second aile which is malicious wilinesse and calliditie; that wheras wrath and the venomous desire of reuenge doth in a kind of desperation and temeritie, rush into the turbulent seas of danger: so doth malicious wilines by the secretes labyrinthis, snares, & curious traps of mortall villainies make vp the mouth of mischiefe to bring abous her dinelish designess, both of them being alike deepe in blood: and with the third aile or triple (being cruelty which is the last consent in opposition with audacious temeritie) herein appeareth the finall concord of these discords even that which reason and nature teacheth vs; how no greater cruelty can be shewed then that a man either upon mere malice or some other hellish and fierie passion of wrath or blind affection (as a principall in the murther of himselfe (should rashly, violently, and irremediably crowde into the speare-pointed troupe of perils, as Curtius and Decius, one mounted in armes on horseback to satisfie the wrath of the gods, upon the maine carriere entred and was swallowed vp in the fierie gulf, which prodigiously did exhale sulphurous and unquenchable flames: the other being conful, arm'd in a Romane lache or brigandine (as Liuy recordeth) did finde on the same fashion run with full speede in gallop amid the bassells of his enemies the Latines: and sacrificed himselfe for weale of the Romane host; where he shrusting his life into the very throaſs of his enemies choaked them that swallowed it.

So that to conclude with this consent of discords; being the certaine confusion of every the most florishing state where it tragically noiseth; as the first harmonious concordance of the sphoericall vertues is the corroboracion and amplification of every kingdome which is formerly noted: so doe I say that Temperance is valiant, iust, and wise: Prudence is temperate, valiant, and iust; Justice is wise, temperate, and valiant;

# The Preface.

liant, valor is iust, wise and temperate. In opposition semblably because the geometricall & analogicall harmonic draweth these other rebels, excrescents, or excrements of vice rather, so this uniuersall muster, that they may be precisely viewed and measured by the cube of reason, receiving prest and wages answerable to their natures and qualities: also for as much as it may be misconstrued by such as are more learned, or some that percase louen opposition, I will leauue this as a Paradox, whether auaritious misets be foolish, uniuast, and timerous, whether timerous persons be miserable, foolish and uniuast, whether uniuast men be timerous, miserable and foolish, and whether foole are uniuast, timerous and miserable. In opposition likewise ex diametro, whether prodigals in their actions generally be nos audacious, cruell, and craftie: whether craftie knaues to serch about their diuisies be not prodigall, audacious, and cruell: if cruell fellows in their hopes or rather feares be not craftie, prodigall, and audacious: and if audacious persons in their distracted humors of desire, reuenge, & coller proue not cruell, craftie and prodigall. For a man (if he woulde perfectly know the secrets of government) must warily serch forth these infestious lepresies of States; considering how there is not any good or bad in man-kinde, which is not contained in these oppositions: the causes of which euils being perfectly knowne, and presently remoued, all their effects of daunger must of force presently be dran ne away with them. And he which cannot skill of this my concatenation, my wheele, or rather the true loue knot, and labyrinth of vertues with their opposites (though in other matters he vainerly thinke himselfe wise) yet shall undoubtely misjuge of other mens conditions, attributing and adiudging improperly good and bad qualities to people contrary their depraved or natvie inclinations: nay moreouer I dare affirme, that he which shall perfectly learne and practise this Lesson shall soone attaine the true knowledge of himselfe.

To conclude therefore, least I stand upon these points more curiously then acceptably, I say that those kingdomes or Commonweales are blessed and victorious, whose Treasurers are valiant, iust, and prudent; whose counsellers are temperate, valiant & iust: whose judges are prudent, temperate, and valiant, whose capaines are iust, prudent, and temperate: such as for example Marcus Cato whom Liuie magnisfieh for his excellente quickenesse and dexterite fit for all noble offices; as in the whole course of his life temperate and decored with moderation; as in his admirable wisedme and sagacity to counsaile and direct in the most serious affaires of his countrey; as of his Justice and skill in the lawes, which was incomparable; with his greas courage & valor in the wars, which was invincible: al which I mentioned in my second booke. And in such accoplished magistrates which by these instructiōs hereinſuing are made absolute, is coſtained the whole morall force of a most gracious & ample monarchie.

These my beneuolent (though ſimple) Elucubrations, recommending heareily to your honorable conſtructions, I wish your welfare as mine owne; which if you wish good Aequanimitie ſhall take fauourably, then haue I wonne the largeſt ſtipend of my ſtudies that I could either traauile or wiſh for. But if persons of vniindifferent cenſure and iudgement (as amongſt many, there bee which may more then ſalſly taxe my labours) ſhall ſhew ſome ſenurie more then criticall, their malignitie cannot preuaile, because I ſhall accompt no time miſpent, which tending ſo much to the common benefit of our yong country men is beſtowed upon ſuch morall conſiderations.

Yours refolved and assuredly B. B.

The

A



B

## The first Booke of Offices.

C

Lbeit *Anniball* for scoffing at the most profound and learned Philosopher *Phormio*, because hee began abruptly to prescribe a forme for the order and institution of Battels, was by some very wise men condemned of extreame and very barbarous pride ; as in repining, that any man being shadowed at home amongst his bookes, should attaine that excellent skill in warre which he by learning expressed: yet doe not I my selfe thinke, being so incerely weake and faire short of that Philosopher in all good knowledge and literature, as there is distance of leagues betwixt the spheres of *Saturne* and the Moone, but that I were worthie to be rebuked and canuased, if either I should write these offices, as instructions for noblemen, and sage Counsellors of any Commonwealth, so faire exceeding my skill and judgement as there haue yeares passed betwixt the date of *Phormioes* death and of my wretched life : or if I should bewray such stupiditie, by teaching men equall in degrees and arts with my selfe that which they can as well or better relate than I : or to bee short, if in the Leuin of arrogancie I should presume to talke of things surreaching the scope of my apprehension. Yet hauing collected many things by reading ; a little with experience, and somewhat through obseruation, I did as appeareth simply couch them together in a little volume, containing these foure booke of Offices, which I submit to the learned and right honourable Reader: for that onely respecting him, I would cleere my selfe of such scandalous imputations, as otherwise percase might wound my negligence with the points of foolishnesse and arrogancie. The discourse ensuing is both short and luculent, needing not (for memories sake) any preposition of argument or Dycotomie, such as it is simple and naked, with a most willing and cheerefull heart I profer : onely requesting pardon for my boldnesse, and to bee protected by them that are verily noble from all grosse and malicious misconstruactions of the vulgar.

The first and chiefe place in all ciuile gouernment vnder princes and Com- *Office of*  
monweales, according to *Dion Cassius, Francis Patricius, Barishol. Cassadorius, Hyp. Treasurer,*  
*polito, Furio Ceriulano*, with others, which haue by their bookes opened the  
B forms

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formes of counsels, concerning the state of any kingdome, remaineth to the Treasurers, which by the Romanes were called *Quaestores a querendo*, because they did seeke how to magnifie, corroborate, and amplifie the Commonwealth by lawfull and honourable meane, for the speciall weale of those states and princes vnder whom they did administer; and also did faithfully conserue those riches to their trust committed. Hence is it that *Dion* tearmeth, *Quaestoratum pri-*

*Lib. 52. Cap. 16. de Mag. munum gradum in Senatu: howbeit Iusius Lipsius, not wholly suffragating to that opinion, sayth, Quod inter magistratus fuere quaestores ordine primi, dignitate ultimi.*

*Tacuix.*

Which office (being auctiently derived from the Greekes) was first erected amongst the Romanes in the first bud of that Empire, after it was growne to some heighth; when the societies of those people, louingly knit and assembled, had in the citie by their policies, valour, and industrie gathered and got a great masse of treasure together: wherein euery free citizen had equall share: at what time they did first institute two generall *Quaestores* or Treasurers, which were famous amongst them for their Justice, valour, moderation and prudence, that had the tuition thereof, keeping their office in *Aede Saturni*. This institution of Treasurers *Tacitus* would haue amongst the Romans, when the Consular estate was first established, *Anno 23.* after their kings were abolished: some thinke they were first ordained, *Anno 7rb. conditae 269*: But it is not so doubtfull, as needless, precisely to stand vpon that point: onely this, the place of Treasurers being first

*Barth. Caff. conf. 13. 7. partis cat. glorie mundi. Geo. Bened. in Repet. cap. Rayn. in verb.* amongst the ciuile magistrates (as at this day in Fraunce, where *Les generalx des finances, & les preſidents des accomptes*, haue a prioritie not onely before both the Counsels strict and at large; but also before the foure *Primiers Presidents* in that realme; as oure Lord high Treasurer of England hath also: whose place with vs is highest next vnto the Lord Chancellour in ciuile reputation) giueth me some caufe to digest the same into my first booke of Offices; being as I may tearme it notvnfitly that liuer wherein the blood (which possesseth the mouing life of euerie commonwealth) is contained. For euen as moneyes are fitly called the finewes of war, so may we likewise properly tearme them the blood of peace: and therefore that state or kingdome, whose treasure is exhausted (though it be most ample, populous, and puissant in other things) may be called bloodlesse and languishing, according to the saying of that learned Lawman: *Nobilitas sine divitijis penè mortua est, tanquam corpus exangue*.

*Bonus de curtili.* Riches therefore may bee properly tearmed the blood of peace, that entering the veines or conduits of the liuer, which may semblably be likened to the Treasurers office, and reflowing thence, benignely disperseth it selfe into the members of the whole bodie, resembling analogically the Commonwealth, for the generall sustentation and nurriture thereof. It is the bone of that strong arme, by which the kingdome is in time of peace strengthened against all hostile attempts. It is the marrow by which that bone is seafoned, soupled, and confirmed: or rather that arme which is strongly nourished, enabled, and knit with those finewes, veines, blood, bones, and pith; wherein remaineth a proportionable strength, guiding the sacred sword of iustice in hand.

The charge of Treasurers consisteth in the receiuing, keeping, and disbursing of the prince his money, consisting in the reuenewes of his Empire; amplified by the tributes of his subiects; supplied by the subsides, fines, and forfeitures of cities,

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**A** cities, societies, and malefactors; relieved with the tallages and customes of merchants and aduenturers; magnified in the prizes and presents, ordinarily resulting from forraine princes and people, either friends or enemies: and as *Titus Livius* writeth: *Munera Questoris sunt pecunia publica & acceptio & expensio; signorum missarum ex auro, vel argento in arario afferatio; prada venditio & subhastatio; legatorum exceptio & deductio; hospitij assignatio.* All which were most honourable attributes peculiarly permitted to the Treasurers: and (as *Lipsius* noteth it) such was that auncient honour of thosc *Questores*, that amongst the Romanes of old Cap. 16. de Mag. vet. Pop. Ro. it was permitted vnto them to make lawes and deccies, to subscribe vnto suites, motions, and petitions, being both keepers and presedents of the Lawes and of

**B** Iustice: which power is with vs and in France deuolued vnto the Lords Chancellors, howbeit in that realme principally; where the Lord Chancellor is highest in the kings counsels, of whom in all causes appertaining the weale of that Venice. L. 1. p. 1. State, the king taketh aduice, as of some oracle: so that when any rescripts, edictis, or deccres contrarie to law, bee by the king either vpon misinformation or negligence graunted, the Chancellour hath *ex officio* power to cancell or annullate them, whereupon was first deuised the name *Cancellarius*; which office in Venice hath the most secret particulars of that state in managing, and yet is not so powerfull in his authoritie. Likewise the French, *Generaux des finances*, vpon the like considerations, and respects may cut off, or curtall at their pleasures the kings

**C** gifts and bounties, issuing out of his Treasuries, Lands, or Reuenewes (if in their wisedomes it seeme expedient: ) and therfore (as I shoulde thinke) they might by the like reason also be called *Cancellarij*, because they *Tanquam Tutores*, limit the kings mind *intra rationis & moderationis cancellos*. This counsell of Treasurers conuerseth in the exportation of such commodities, as every Commonwealth out of her friendship, or abundance exchangeth or ministreth; hauing equall respect vnto the induction, or reissuection of luch other marchandize, as their people need and couet most: Likewise in all treasures vnder ground, as in mines and minerals of gold, and siluer, copper, tinne, lead, and yron; the richest commonly belonging to the prince of that soyle, where such treasures are ope-

**D** ned; and others either by graunt or otherwise, according to legall tenure of *Frank Charter*, or of other immunitiess royll in tenure of such subiects, as accordingly make payment to the custome, or imposition of the prince or countrey. Wherefore it behoueth, that such as be chosen into that place and authoritie, bee men not of learning and temperance onely; but of good yeres and much experience also: howbeit the Romanes did make choice of their *Questores* at twentie ffe yeres, according to *Tacitus*. Which greene age could not amongst vs haue Amel. lib. 3. had that maturitie of iudgement, and foresight in these times, that is required in a worthie Treasurer: although amongst those Romanes in that golden age of nature, we may by circumstancies find, that young noble men were in all the

**E** parts of their life generally, temperate and frugall, with a certaine specious apparence of liberalitie, yet did not in the appeare that precocitie, which is in many of our young heads of this age, which are so free at the first, that they bee soone poore and thredbare of vnderstanding, before the bruit of their rare pregnancie be well dispersed: and those young men were so well instructed from their infancie, that they did contend how to bee thought most noble, vertuous, and fit

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for places of reputation in their countrey, by suppreſſing many luſts, motions, F  
commotions, and vnpereſt paſſions of the mind, with a moderate domination  
of reaſon and conſtanſie. They were full of modeſtie, full of dutie, and full of  
ſuſh reſiglion as then was profefſed amonſt the prophanē Gentiles, obſeruing in  
all words and deeds a temperat moderation, without any deturpation or deto-  
mitie. And theſe quaſiities in theſe young Romans, worthily made them eligible  
and fit for ſuſh great dignities and offiſes.

The Lord high Treaſurer of England his offiſe is in the Exchequer, erected  
by king *William* the first, for ſafe cuſtodiſ of his crown lands, and of theſe records  
which may concerne them. To which Queene *Marie* ioyned the Surveyors ge-  
nerall, the court of Augmentations and reueneuues of the Crowne, with the first G  
fruits and tenths of Benefiſes, being erected by that king of good memorie, *Hen-  
rie* the eight. This offiſe is caſled *Scaccarium*, of a certaine large ſquare table,  
which according to *Geruaſ* of Tilburie, cited by M. *William Camden*, hath a  
chequered cloth brought and ſpread vpon it, in the tearme of Eaſter, as a place  
or table of iuft proportion, account, or iudgement; in all cauſes reſpecling the  
royall treaſure or reueneuues: where all ciuile cauſes betwixt the prince and his  
tenants are indifferently decided. Judges in this court are, the Lord high Treaſu-  
rer of England, the Chancelour of the Exchequer, the Lord chiefe Baron of  
that court, with other foure Barons affiſtants, the Remembrancer, Engroſſer,  
Controller, Clearkes of the Pleas, and of the Pipe-offiſe; Auditors with their H  
clearkes, Appoſer, Chamberlaine, Clerke of the Streights, Marshall, Cleake of  
the Summons, deputie Chainberlaines; Secondaries to the Remembrancer, to  
the Treaſurer, and to the Pipe-offiſe. Also in the offiſe of receit M. Vice Tre-  
aſurer, Clearkes of the Tally, and of the Parchments, with diuerſe other inferiour  
offiſers. All which are ordained for the conſeruation and amplification of theſe  
foreſaid reueneuues, and of diuerſe other pecuniarie dutiſ, ordinarie and extra-  
ordinarie; by which the ciuile ſtate of all principalities is neceſſarily ſuſtained:  
for it is maniſt, that without the competent force of mony no Commonwealth

*Brit. in Polit.* can hold together abſolute in her members. And to that purpoſe was it firſt de-  
uized, when people and nations were neceſſarily conſtrained to require ſupplies  
and ſuccours out of remote countries, by commutation of cōmodities through  
exportation and importation of them from and to forraine places; howbeit the  
principall exchange is for gold and ſiluer coyned in little round plates and be-  
ſantes of greater and leſſe value, being authoriſed by the edicts of theſe princes  
and Commonwealths where they bee ſtamped, and paſſe currant amongſt the  
people. Foure kinds of mettall haue auctiently beene coyned amongſt the Ro-  
manes, one of lead; which when it firſt was deuized, excedeſt all records of

*Cap. 1. de re Pec.* true memorie, as *Inst. Lipsius* writeth: another of braſſe or copper, which the  
*Plin. lib. 18.* Romanes therefore caſled *Pecunia quod eſſe nota pecudis ſignata*: of which  
*cap. 3.* coynes diuerſe vnder the Romanes here in Brittaine, as well of copper as yron  
likewiſe were ſtamped, according to M. *William Camden* in his booke of Brittaine  
antiquities. Siluer amongſt the Romanes was firſt coyned, *Anno, ab urbe cond.*

*484. F. Biſtare & Qu. Oſuleio Cofſ.* The coyne of gold 62 yeares after the ſiluer,  
*C. Claudio Neroni, & Marco Linio Salinatore Cofſ.* The beginning and end of  
coyning was for commerce, as by pieces of ſome value for exchange of other

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**A** commodities to people of other nations : by whose diuers and feuerall stampes the countries with whom they traffiqued were knowne. And hence is it, that those coynes of mettall are infinite ; which dependeth vpon two reasons also : the first is, vpon couetousnesse of people, which would abundantly bee serued with things which their minds couet for some needfull vses : the seconde, vpon pleasures ; for which many men seeke for great heapes of money : but the want of things desired amongst men is infinite, and the choice of pleasures endlesse, all which are attained by money. The desire of treasure therefore can neuer bee fulfilled, according to the saying of *Cicero*, *Expetuntur diaisia cum ad vita usus Lib. 2. off. necessarios tum ad perfruendas voluptates. Dilectant enim magnifici apparatus vita- que cultus cum elegantia & copia quibus rebus effectum est ut infinita pecunia cupi- ditas esset.* A Treasurers prudent care and whole studie therefore, leuelleth at all such honourable meanes and iust occasions, as may serue to bring in diuers summes, and how to maintaine a continuall haruest of getting, to sustaine those infinite burthens of necessarie disbursement ; how to leuie for the Commonwealth with good discretion, and nothing without vrgent cause. Vnto which contribution, that it may be more liberall and cheerefull, is required, that the people be generally well affected both towards the prince and vnto that common necessitie which importuneth the same : for the better effecting whereof, some plausible and effectuall declaration published vnto them by their Soueraigne, readily prepareth their hearts, mouing in them a more benifcent kind of alacritie ; and therefore it is in such cases most behoefull, *Vt omnes in- cic. 2. off. zelligant si salvi esse velint necessitati esse parendum.* For beeing persuaded, that the generall safetie dependeth thereupon, you shall find the couetous, readiest to contribute. Moreouer it addeth very much vnto the loue of people towards their princes, and to their good opinion of his grace and meekenesse vnto them correspondently, when he by suit seeketh that which his regall authoritie might exact.

The respects are great, and those necessities important, which should vrge a prince to violence in those cases : yet a good Soueraigne can neuer haue cause

**D** of compulsion : For when the king which hath authoritie to constraine, vseth a facilitie to persuade, it importeth some vehement necessitie. Can any priuate Commonwealth mount without tributarie wings ? Or could the firmament of peace be cleere, if all clouds had not first beeene dispersed with the thunder of warre ? Are armes exercised without wages ? Are shippes prouided of men, victuals, and of artillerie, without mony ? How shall officers which be continually buied in ceaselfe seruice for the common securitie, haue relief without salaries ? May vertuous or needie persons bee rewarded or succoured without some generall supplies ? Few be those princes of Christendome (so neere as I can iudge) whose owne priuat reunewes are able to supply the publicke charge onely : so that the more puissant any prince is in dominion and territorie, so much more the common charge doth aggrauate his necessities.

For this office therefore, all honest and needfull meanes of getting are to bee carefully studied and prouided: towards the true maintenance whereof it highly benefieth to forbear all superfluous damnable and intollerable subsidies : for if such publicke busynesses in a Commonwealth oppresse the prince, which

according to the best iudgements being great and multiplied, doe through pru-  
dent consultation, foresight, and caution ioyfully propagate all Soueraigne em-  
pire; then must it necessarily follow, that a generall aid be ministred by the com-  
mons for their general good: least otherwise the publicke treasure be (through  
want of such tributarie supplies) drawne to the bottome, whereas it ought con-  
tinually to bee multiplied and cherished: *E enim qui rem publicam gubernabunt  
consulere debent, ut earum rerum copia sit que sunt necessaria.* Which if they do  
carefully respect, sildome or never shall any vehement cause happen to them of  
exaction. And therefore that good and charitable Emperour *Traiane* vterly  
disallowing, and detesting all compulsion and priuie pinches in those cases, *Fif-*

*In vita Iuliani. cum liuem vocauit, quod eo scilicet crescere arsus reliqui cor abescunt.* Howbeit, that

*Sabat. bell. In- gurb. lib.* sentence in some cases to me seemeth more verely physicall according to the let-  
ter, than morally philosophicall, answering to the sence. And therefore *parta fru-*

*galiter tuendo*, many such inconueniences are preuented, *Magi es enim dedecus est  
parta amittere, quod omnino non paruisse.* This treaure therfore ought to be cherished,  
the cherishing wherof is principally found in cutting off all idle and superfluous  
expences: for therein it doth as well encrease by sauing as receiuing. It likewise  
augmenteth by the bold and industrious valour of them, which make great and  
honourable aduentures, as well by land seruice, as nauall for their countries  
glorie: returning after a long, laborious, and chargeable voyage, loaden with  
treasure and commodities. So did thenoble Romane *Aemilius* bring from the

*H* Macedonians; which spoyle was so rich and great, that it eased the people of  
Rome many yeares after from tributes: of which hostile booties he was knowne  
not to bring any thing to his priuate houses or hampers, sauing onely the re-  
noume of his triumphs and victories: which how well he demerited, is witnes-  
sed in noble historie. Such excellent and precious countreymen should be fur-  
nished at the common charge with ships, men, armes, and prouision, that they  
might exercise themselues in those seruices, which should increase and magnifie  
the Commonwealth. I may not forgett *Sir Francis Drake*, so much remembred  
and acknowledged through the whole world (which he cōpassed) for his noble  
skill and industrious fortitude, who did both much benefit & magnifie the state

*I* of this land; being not borne of any very noble parentage: Howbeit that his  
working good spirit, and better fortunes alwaies incited him to some honoura-  
ble enterprise, which in the late raigne of blessed Queene *Elizabet* brought  
much coine, and bullion of gold and siluer vnto the princes treasures, somewhat  
out of hostile spoyles from the Spaniards, taken by that euer renowned Earle of  
George Clifford.

Cumberland in his nauall voyages. To whom at this day we shall find few comparable  
for their painfull aduétures, equiuallable with the trauels either of *Crist. Colombo*, or *Hernando Cortez*; if you will superadde therunto that excellēt fortune  
and natvie valour, which alwayes accompanied and winged their heroicall  
enterprises. I might speake here of *Sir Thomas Candish*, & of *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*:  
but hauing mentioned *Sir Francis Drake*, in him is comprised so much as they  
could deserue. Diuers other gallant gentlemen, borne here in England amongst  
vs, which being yet young and aliue, haue percase some fortunes in store, to  
make them as glorious in such seruices, as any that euer trauailed. My meaning  
is not here, that by the direptions, piracies, depredations of cities or nations

confede-

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3

A confederated and vnted (which is merely dishonest and vnpromisynge) to farse and gorge vp the common Treasuries: for so much as it withstandeth all treason and humane policie, with true colour emblazoning the violation and breach of peace and amitie, whiche vndoubtedly bringeth a most lamentable confusion with it vnto those princes and Commonweales in their estates, that are both agents and patients in these cases: but onely with the spoyles of maleuolent, mischievous, and professed enemies: by whose oppression their whole state is weakened, and in whose weakenesse our forces are confirmed: such as cannot be more malicious or mortall aduersaries for any violence which wee can offer vnto them. Treasures gotten from such ambitious and maleuolent people, are

B laudable, and magnifie the state of our kingdomes. Such verely were the spoiles which *Lucius Mummius* (Collegue in Censorship to *Paulus Aemilius* aforesaid) brought from the state of a most opulent and braue citie: by which atchievements, *Cicerio* noteth in his Offices, that *Mummius* was not a penny the wealthier in his owne priuate purse than before. Adde hereunto, not vnlke in magnificence, though their fortunes were vnequall, the condition of that sometimes right noble and vnsfortunate Lord of good memorie, *Robert Earle of Essex*, after his expedition to Cales: By which example in himselfe hee made knowne to the couetous capaignes of his tyme, and vnto those which had heard of his victories, that true glorie was merely the subiect and substance of his seruice, which hee

C shared with his countrey: treasure the meede of his militarie men, which hee magnificently distributed amongst them. And certainly, there is not any thing which more to life representeth the noble conditions and natures of gallant soldiers in highest militarie reputation, than either their great victories and spoyles, or their calamities and disfortunes: for the bearing of themselues equall, and the same in both extremities, without insolence or abiection, clearely manifesteth to the world their vertues. Neither can any thing be more precious and amiable in the sight of people, than a magnificent and bountifull magistrate. *Hunc enim max. off. 1. ximē populus admiratur qui pecunia non mouetur: quod in quo viro perspectum sit, hunc dignum spectu arbitramur, &c.* Such princes therefore vndoubtedly win a

D generall good opinion and admiration, in seeming to despise those treasures, and pleasures, which some weake princes, and all vulgar persons hold precious: howbeit with such a negligent semblance, as neither prodigalitie may preiudice their estates; nor their negligence (by not seeking out honourable means to maintaine that excellent good fame) may diuert all lawfull and commendable helps for the support thereof.

This Office amongst diuerse other wayes to weaken it, is laid open to those masse charges which the prince vndergoeth in his warres: and from the fountaine thereof all inferiour Treasurers of armes, garrisons, nauies and prouinces, with such like, are continually serued. It is therefore most reasonable, considering so many riuers are supplied therewith, that diligent circumspection bee required to preserue the Springalwayes full by beneuolent, and due retribution of waters through those siluer pipes, which may without stop chearefully conuey them to that fountaine from the calme riuers of the Commonwealth, redispensing them with a carefull kind of beneficence to the common good and tranquilitie. This fountaine must be kept alwayes (if not full) yet not neare drie, least by defect

defect of the slenderest vaine branching from it, penurie succeede, being a F most pestilent feauer, or consumption rather to the king and Commonwealth.

A curious eye with vigilant regard must bee bent vpon the Collectors, Receiuers, Auditors, and other inferior ministers belonging to this office; least in exactions, or by fraudulent deuises they satisfie there priuate auarice with a kind of extortiōn or crueltie. For auarice is an inordinate lust of hauing, whose appetitie is infinite, whose acquisition immōderate, whose possession vnlawfull, whereby the prince vndoubtedly may bee brought into daunger. It is like that *Hydra* which Poets talke of, that though the stroke of Iustice execute vpon it continually; yet will it miraculously reuiue againe: it forceth not either the lightening, thunder or thunderbolts of the law prouided against it. G *Salust* describeth it a beast rauenous, cruell, and insollerable: where it haunersh, huge Cities, Fields, Churches, and Houses are laid wast: Heaven and Earth prophane- ly mingled; Armies and strong wals cannot restraine the violence thereof: It spoileth all mortall people of good Report, Modestie, Children, Nation, & Parents, &c. So doth this brightnesse of gold bleare mens outward fences, so fuming in their heads, and fastened in their hearts, that they feare not any mischiefe which can accompanie Lucre. Such wicked, vniust, and rauenous officers, eating the people as bread, are to be squeezed like sponges full of water. Great caution therefore must be vsed against the violence of officers in such extortiōn, least the H prince after some few yeres patience of the people, vpon new grieuances, become odious: which king *Henry* the eight in the second yeare of his raigne did most politickely prouide, in his proceedings against Sir *Richard Emson* and M. *Dudley*, late inward and of counsell in such cales vnto his sage father, king *Henry* the seventh. By good example of whose punishment others might vpon the like inconueniences suffer. For if the people find not redresse vpon their complaints, then will they rise (as at that time it was feared) in open hostilitie: which if the blood of those extorting officers can expiate without some humane slaughter sacrificed to tenne hundred sculpchers, then is it happie: but such generall hurts haue commonly no compensation, without a generall confusion. I

The peoples payments ought so to be disposed therefore, that all men according to their faculties, by due discretion of good and honest sworne officers in every shire or prouince, may take such reasonable dayes, and times of payment limited, as they may without any grudging or disease contribute heartely. Moreouer, that such (as are in speciall affaires of their prinee, and for the Commonwealth employed; hauing by such occasions largely spent of their owne priuate for the common good, as every good man will in such cases) bee for examples sake, for the good encouragement of others, precisely exempted from all kind of burthenes and impositions. Also such as haue formerly done much grace and honour to their countys and princes (if they be not at that time so high in blood, that they may well away with phlebotomie) should bee graciously spared; according to the French order: for all courtiers and seruants, attendant vpon the kings person in his house, are (by the ciuile lawes of Fraunce) excepted in time of peace from all collections, tallages, gabels, exactiōns, cu- stomes, K

**A** stomes and impositions whatsoeuer, which others are tied vnto : likewise in the times of warre, from any burthen of receiuing, quartering, and billeting of souldiors. Obseruation (concerning the collectors and ministers before named) dependeth vpon the chusing and displacing of Officers either iust or corrupt. First, the choice of such ministers is made out of men, honest, stayed, and well approoued for such a purpose ; bad Officers which did extort or vnlawfully compasse, being with losse of their places and possessions punished.

Dispensation of these tributes and subsidies must bee to the generall, and not any particular vse : for no man will sticke at a little charges employed to

**B** publicke behoofe, if it once appeare, that the prince doe not consume his treasure in vnnecessary cost and riot, but keepe a moderation with decencie, which (albeit the vulgar do not generally marke : for they respect onely the princes proper faculties and reuenewes (which ought to be by the treasurers concealed so much as may bee) yet certaine captious and dangerous heads, full of quarrels and aduantages ; such as are of fierie spirits, coueting innouation: which commonly lead the blind and abused vulgar into dangerous actions) will narrowly sift and make a breach into the common peace, vnder the pretext of taxes and impositions ; as hath beeene found in certaine commotions in the dayes of king *Richard* the second, and king *Henry* the sixt, with o-

**C** ther princes, vpon the like occasions. Such gettings therfore as proceed from the subiects beneuolence, must bee sparingly spent and husbanded : and so should the Treasurers bear theiuelues in that Office, as stewards of other mens goods, and not of their owne.

That most prudent and worthy Lord Treasurer *William Cecil* goodly well approoued ouer all causes, and in all businesse either publike or priuate, during the late and most deare mirroure of good gouernment, Queene *Elizabeth*, of most renowned and euerliuing memorie, did leaue behind him a litye pat-  
terne and precedent of his singular care and excellent wisedome, to the great encrease of that stocke, committed then to his charge, as may serue euerla-

**D** stingly to them which yet are or euer may be credited with that office, to get and maintaine eternall reputation. The generall good opinion and report of him after his death in the mouths of all good men, may stirre vp his successors in that place truely to resemble his vertues and integrarie.

The treasure therefore may not bee wilfully wasted, or exhausted for sa-  
tisfaction of any prince in his priuate prodigalitie. *Vera enim & simplex via* Oratio Philosophi  
in Senat. ex Se-  
lusi.

*est, magnitudinem animi in addendo, non demendo reipublica ostendere.* For per-  
sons of lauish humours and exorbitate affections, thinke not that there is any

true fruition of treasure without profusion. Due deepe therefore into the

bottomelesse danger thereof by manifold and most manifest example and

**E** obseruation, as in *Archigallo* king of the Brittaines, who was deposed by the people for his extortions, after hee had raigned fve yeares, and then vpon his reformation restored. And amongst diuers vnaduised princes consider, that it was not the least cause of decay to *Edward* of Carnaruan, king of England, Edw. 3. when hee by such meanes lost the loue of his commons, by listening vnto flatterers, and wilfully robbed himselfe of the fealtie of his nobles, which o-

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pened his sepulchre for other matters more securely. Men of such profuse qualitie, which extort much, as if they could not keepe any thing, but that which is taken with a violent extortio[n], are in themselves miserably poore.

From hence likewise brauncheth another speciall rule of moderation, that no leuies surmount the princes occasions : for if it tend not to the subiects great benefit, being very necessarily dispensed, it dishonoureth any Soueraigne to straine them in so small a matter. And such impositions must also be sil-  
 dom, that the people grow not wearie with them, being fashioned more or lesse according to their plentie or pouertie: for such princes are haunted with the furies of a lamentable infamie, whose treasuries deuour the subiects labours, and neuer rest satisfied with bloodie booties. Wee may reade likewise in the French *Chronicles*, that those impositions which *Philip le beau* and *Charles* the fift, kings of that realme, had set vpon the wines and salt, caused the men of Gascoyne and others in the dayes of *Henry* the second, king of Fraunce, to rebell, which was a great priuicide and danger vnto that state, albeit now by custome a speciall part of that crownes reuenewes (at which no man, by reason of the long continuance in these latter times, repineth, but willingly submitteth himselfe to the burthen) dependeth vpon them and the like Monopolies. Good princes also will take heed of that pernicious desire, which in prosperitic filleth vp the still gaping mouths and purses of parasiticall flatterers, and temporizing Sycophants : howbeit some liued in the late raigne of good Queene *Elizabeth*, which abusing her high grace, extended towards them out of her meere royll nature, compassed such things as were both priuicidall to her reputation, and to the Commonwealth in soome sort : such persons as these cannot be truely called seruants, but vnto their owne intollerable affections ; neither will I giue instance of them, namely, being so generally knowne, and fresh in our memories ; as also for many more reasons of modestie which inhibite it. It is therefore most certaine, that all newly devised monopolies usurping vpon the subiects trades and trauels, are odious, and commonly daungerous : such as amongst other *Vespasian* tooke of *Vryne*, who (because his sonne *Titus* seemed to mislike therof) told him, that though the subiect was vnsauourie, yet the accident was sweet. And what a beastly Monopolie or monthly tribute is that, which is at this day taken into the Popes treasuries in Rome and at Bologna, from those curtisans and whores, which by profession prostitute their bodies for gaine. Which the very Gentils and Atheists, as *Lampridius* writeth in his *Histories*, did prohibite, That any tributes issuing from harlots or bauds, should bee received into the sacred Treasuries ; but referued in another place for the disposition of the *Ediles Curules* towards the furnishing and setting forth of publicke playes and shewes, as also to the reparation and mending of bridges, ports, and high wayes for the cities Commonwealth. Likewise wee find, that *Alexander Severus* taxed all sorts of artificers, drapers, glasiers, skinners, masons, plasters, shoomakers, with such like, in a moderate order ; the Romane Empire being then growne vp to that heighth, which could not easily permit insurrection or mutinies. Only this according truely with the state of princes in

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**A** in such cases, *Vestigia opum est parsimonia*: for by beeing frugall of his owne, he winneth the loue and fauor of his people in sparing of them. *Clau-  
dius Nero*, thought his tyrannies and oppressions of the people had purchased him a generall and mortall hatred amongst them: yet deuiled this one way, (*Quas pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium daturn*) to free the Romanes Cor. Tac. lib. 13.  
Annalium. during his time from all tributes, and thereby to wash out of the peoples remembrance all infamous notes of his owne misgouvernement: howbeit, the Senate told him, That it would be the subuersion of his state in posterity, that those fruits by which the imperiall state was sustained, should bee taken away. And certaine it is, (if there bee many Monopolies in the Commonwealth) that diuers good princes will either remit or diminish them; which *Charles the eight of Fraunce* (as *Lupanus* writeth) had done, but that death otherwise preuented his beneficence. Howbeit, in all affaires concerning the conseruation or amplification of any Commonwealth: *Regis Aerarium est Ioh. Tilius lib. 1.  
ararium populi, & ararium populi mutuo regis est ararium*. And therefore, com. de rebus gall. when little or no publicke cause of exhaustion impendeth, frugalitie most honoeth a prince, by keeping a due proportion betwixt the treasure got and his disbursements, according to the square of necessitie.

In leuying of Subsidies it must be specially respected, that equalitie without any partiall or affectionate passion in the collectors and officers bee precisely respected: that the contribution of Cities, Societies, and Husbandmen, according to their lands and reuenewes, bee measured with indifferent partie: for my selfe haue sometimes heard the mutterings and grudgings of diuers people, which (though they most willingly would exhibite: yet did they repine at their vnequall taxation, saying, That they were so much the more assessest than others, by how much the lesse they were rated in the Subsidie booke. Such must therefore be chosen, as will not either in malice or fauour oppresse or succour. For being ordinarily vexed at inequalitie, the people naturally will grow malicious, measuring their losses with other mens gaines: And hence is it, that a moie diligent circumspection is required in them which haue that charge in hand. Moreouer, it helpeth the common policie to know perfectly the differences of patrimonies, dignities, ages, and offices, with all arts and professions of persons remaining vpon record. By which order, according to precise iudgement and discretion, all tributes are by due proportion leuied, and people assessest. It behoueth them therefore in their priuat consciences first to compare their own particular estates, together with the Commonwealth in all equitie, appointing commissioners as censors, which can discerne and take notice of the peoples off-spring, ages, families, and substance every third or fift yere. For some of them may remoue their dwellings, others may die, diuerse also may encrease or decrease, during that space, in goods or possessions: by which knowledge had of peoples ages and abilities, they may bee chosen either for militarie seruices, or enioyned to burthenes in the common cause of their country, when occasion shal opportunely require. Thus much concerning the charge and conditions of Treasurers. It followeth now, that I declare how far, according to the sagest and best approued writers a prince should extend his arme in the fruition or dispēsation of these benefits.

It is very commendable in a prince to be reputed liberall, which some curios and cunning writers would haue out of the purses of others; so that his owne hampers be not diminished: for it is intended, that how much more the common necessitie doth import, so much more patience and alacritie should appeare in the people frankly to contribute towards the conseruation and encouragement of that peace by which they were enriched. Hce may not make the people fearefull of his liberalitie with grieuous and vnneedfull impositions; but onely sparing his owne, vsing their beneuolences to their generall comfort, with a couetous kind of liberalitie: which beeing with good cunning and discretion exercised, the people will with all honour to the prince embrace it louingly: for he which is vertuously liberal, according to strict conscience, shall never bee commended nor honoured for it: because that is not vulgarly tearemed liberalitie in princes, which walloweth not in excessse: a course euery way pernicious to the soueraigne and subiect: first occasioning a priuate pouertie to the prince; to the subiect then in grieuous and insupportable supplies for maintenance of that iolitie; forcing them to disobedience, and himselfe to shame and rapacitie. And I am verely persuaded, that all prodigall persons are of a fierce and turbulent spirit, during that humorous tempest, readier (when want approcheth vpon their imprudence) by most wicked meanes to maintaine that riot, than to fall vnto some honest and meane course of quiet liuing, as many times when I consider hath appeared to me liuely by good example; which also consenteth with that saying of *Salust*: *Annius ferox prava via ingressus (ubi consueta non suppetunt) fertur accensus in socios modo, modo in cives: mouet composita & res nouas veteribus acquirit, &c.* Such a course therefore sometimes will vndoe both the prince and subiect, being a very daungerous kind of liberalitie. What must he therefore doe to maintaine a good opinion of that vertue without perill? First, let him not fret inwardly, thogh he be condéned of parsimonie, so closely smothering auarice, that he be not reputed couetous: for admit that attribute be blacke stone, yet is the subiect thereof bright gold: for a prince cannot make safevse of liberalitie, neither hold his owne sure without danger. But of these two difficult choices a wise prince will affect parsimonie, for growing rich with sparing hec shall be magnified amongst forrainers; which will therefore stand in feare of his puissance: and at home with his owne people, for that in sparing his treasure, the subiects liuings are likewise spared: which forbearance they willingly teareme an honest and vertuous liberalitie. Such opinion did *Titus Flaminius* purchase amongst the Greeks, which vpon the ouerthrow of king *Philip* of Macedon, enfranchised all the cities of Greece from tributes by publicke proclamations in euery place. Likewise *Perinax* graunted vnto all that exercised tillage and husbandrie, franke intermission from tenne yeares tribute. Howbeit, if princes haue laid a firme foundation, how they may through high liberalitie multiplie dominion, then will not they commonly spare at any cost: yea people naturally breath and hunt after the fortunes of magnificent princes. But hauing once firmly effected their purpose, their purchase is by little and little as warily cherished. Neither is the course of their gouernment in any iot impeached, but magnified

Nicolo Macc. il  
pren. cap. 16.  
De liberalita &  
miseria, &c.

Ad Ces de Rep.  
ordinanda.

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A fied thereby. To princes militant also profuse liberalitie much auaileth, if they can with hostile spoyles encourage their souldiors, taking examples by *Cyrus, Cesar, Alexander*: for that both retaineth and augmenteth their reputation, if the generall burthen bee not carried out of their owne cofers. Let this onely be considered of prodigalitie; That it is a great *vessell botomelesse, a big chest locklesse, a vaine profusion carelesse*. And if I should paint that strumpet to life, I would place her in great and iolly pompe, variably plumed, marching betwixt a notable foole, and a singular braggart, seruing for two villanous weake supporters: and seconded at an ync also by two forlorne slauies; one of them a miserable begger, and the other an vnpittied penitentiatie.

B Me seemeth it a fit comparision betwixt the viper and princely prodigalitie: for that infinit spawne which is bred of this serpent (being composed of inordinat affections, intemperat appetites, base flatterers, and of the most contagious offall and poison of all princcs courts) eate out the bowels of the parent at the verie time of their birth, which perisheth by them that were cherishted by her. These young viprous vices liuely represent ingratitude, to which all of them be subiect that are fostered by prodigalitie. These are those hounds which mythologically devoured *Aetlon*, when after the murtherous pleasures and concupiscence of his eyes and flesh, he was transformed into a fearfull beast, excellently shadowing that pusillanimite which through excesse of

C sensualitie deprive him of a reasonable creatures shape and faculties, leauing him a lamentable spoile to those dearest and most inward enemies, his owne affections. Yet for as much as I run here into some morall considerations, me seemeth it should now be verie fitting to make some demonstration of those ethicall parts that are in Temperance, by which the treasures of all wise princes and people ought to be restrained and gouerned.

D Temperance therefore is a vertue which subiecteth pleasures to the yoke of reason, limiting all things within moderation: *Cicero* defineth it to be the constant and moderat domination of reason, restraining vs from lusts, and from other violent imperfections of the mind. *Plato* with *Aristotle* consenteth, that

E Temperance is most speciously seene in passing ouer, and as it were fearefully, but more painefullly poasting away from all voluptuous appetites: and therefore they tearme it *Sophrosune*, being the conseruator of prudence, signifying a moderation or frugalitie: for if fleshly concupiscence or inordinate pleasure subiect the noble part of man, then will they forceably banish all reason and moderation, manacling and fettering him within the mazie wilderness of secure sensualitie: so that neither foot nor hand shall haue power to discharge their naturall functions in any due proportion, but are lopped and steeped in the dregs of all riot and profusion, which dradge along with them (as I sayd before) rapacitie, shame, and beggerie. Wise princes and potentates therefore, to whom God hath imparted treasures in abundance, ought with all vehement intention to ponder, how dangerous intoxicating a poysone this is, because vnto them more than to others, such momentane furies misguidedly masking in the falled habiliments of sweet comfort and contentment, like enchauntresses, oft and many times appeare. For as much therefore as pleasures either proceed from a naturall instinct, being corporall

and common to all creatures hauing life, or from some inwardly conceiued F opinion: of which, some haue reference to good and honest purposes, which are merely directed by the rule of temperance; others are extreame ly bad besotted and nuzzled in bruitish fense: all wise and perfect princes will so moderate their owne appetites, freeing them from all exorbitant and luxurios pleasures, as may both encrease their honor, health, wealth, and empire. Howbeit, *Seneca* writ, That there be delights with which temperance dispenseth, & others also which she doth hate and banish: considering therefore how nature is nourished and supplied with a little, and that temperance by the direction of reason prescribeth a necessarie to nature, that it may liue within a mediocritie: these pleasures of excesse in diet, ornaments, and of all luxurios appetites, G are ascribed to the bodie. Other delights, as when a man is arrogant & opinionatiue, or infected with a vaine selfe dotage, or when he libidinously prosecuteth his owne fantasies, oppressing his pure reason with the foggie mists of licenciousnesse, are well appropriated to the mind. *Cicero* diuideth temperance into three parts: first into Continence, by which desire is restrained vnder the gouernment of counsell, and which in all corporall diet & ornament keepeth a meane. Vnto which Abstincnce is annexed as a part thereof, & manifested in binding mens hands from rapine and theft: next into Clemencie, which is a meatal temperance, when there is power and sufficient meanes to punish and reuenge, or rather (as *Seneca* termeth it) a lenitie discending from the superior to the inferior in cases of punishment. Mercy (being the mother of gentlenesse and humanitie, highly pleasant in the most high presence of God) is adiunct to clemencie: and thirdly vnto modestie, which (as *Cicero* defineth) is a H *Lib. 3. ad Heren.* *constant moderation or cohibition of lusts, mouing and reuellung in the mind.* He likewise sayth, That honest modestie through shamefastnesse doth retaine a noble and constant authoritie. Adiunct to this is the feare of shame or disgrace, as by the philosophicall definition of *Verecundia* should appear, which *Tully* semblably calleth ingenious timiditie, with a reuerence expressed vnto men: whereas by the naturall inclination and propertie thereof it will not hurt any man; but is that true comelinesse or decencie which the Philosophers call *τέλειον*, perfectly manifested in temperate and well affected bodies, when they bee suddenly prouoked, commoued, or stirred vp with some vndecent or cōtumelious action, speech, or behaviour, in others repugnant to their ingenious and toward natures, which moueth in them a sudden and well beseeming blush presented from a certaine feare of shame, disgrace, or turpitude, being the very badge of honestie, which is dispersed & opened by the force of their modest spirits. And hence is it that *Plato* in his dialogue of temperance citeth or faineth a saying of *Critias* to *Charmides*, a beautifull young man disputing with him concerning a medicine or charme for the headach, That temperance woulde cure that disease, with all grievances of the body likewise: and demaideing of *Charmides*, whether he were possessed of that medicine, *Plato* faineth, *Genas eius rubore suffusas gravitiore specie ostendisse, pudore etenim eam arare decuisse.* This affectio albeit Philosophers do not call a vertue, yet is annexed therunto. Whence it was, that *Digenes* termed it the tincture of vertue, proceeding frō thēce & frō a nativie ingenuity; modesty being a *decent seemliness & good order in al things, cōuerseth in moderating*

*Plato. lib. 2.0.*  
*Charmides. sive*  
*de temp.*

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**A** rating the perturbations and motions of the mind, by the retaining of a concordance or harmonie, quieting and calming all humane actions, so that nothing vnsit or immodest be done or spoken : nothing in hatred, malice, affection, lust, ambition, arrogancie, or other such violent passions and distractions of the spirit.

The parts of modestie be lowlinesse or humilitie ; so forceably depressing insolence, that by how much the more worthie men bee, so much the more humble they may shew themselves. Which lesson our Sauiour *Christ* commaunded vs to learne of him, considering, that in vs, as of our selues, nothing can be decent or commendable, but onely proceeding from the precious gift

**B** of God. This lesson teacheth vs the fruition of that Oracle, *Nosce teipsum* ; when a man doth not attribute any goodnesse to himselfe, but acknowledgeth, that hee receiued the same out of the fountaine of all bountie from aboue.

The second part of modestie should seeme to be the desire to learne and be taught : which is seene in men, that recognizing their ignorance, are studious and desirous of instruction.

The third part of modestie doth speciously declare it selfe in pleasantnesse of speech, alacritie, comitic, and affabilitie. This ought to bee well knowne and practised by wise courtiers : for these qualities grace them amongst persons of the best qualitie :

**C** And this is reputed a kind of moderate and well tastring urbanitie ; when in speech and answeres men auoid bitterness, and salt taunting, hardly set on ; and more than indifferently poudered, in respect of the times, places, and persons. Let them therefore alwayes obserue a certaine honest moderation, delaying, or rather perfectly purging all the mentall perturbations with a pleasant medicine of words and cheerefulness. This therefore should be the scope of all speech : In serious matters to shew feueritie ; in pleasant discourses festiuitie ; regarding, that our tongues bewray not any corruption of manners, which staine is specially noted in those that either contumeliously, ridiculously, flaundrously, feuerely, or raylingly back-bite

**D** any persons. Likewise it is as vndecent and intemperate, that any man should praise himselfe ; which as a foolish trumpet soundeth out his owne disgrace and folly to wise men.

The fourth and last part is moderation in apparrell, and in other corporall ornaments ; being the mediocritie betwixt riotous curiositie and slouenie : shewing, that all garments should be neat, fit for the body, and agreeable to the sex which should weare them : in worth and fashion correspondent to the state, substance, age, place, time, birth, and honest custome of those persons which vse them. To conclude therefore I say, that Temperance is a vertue, than which nothing is more powerfull, towards the repressing of affecti-

**E** ons ; nothing more fit for the good composition and confirmation of mens manners ; nothing more effectuall towards the attainmente of Gods fauour, that can either be devised or spoken : and certainly, there is not any thing good in the whole course of mans life, which may not bee reduced vnto Temperance, as to the centre or spting of humane happiness.

Lib. 3. T. 1. f. 1.

It followeth needfully, that I speake somewhat of intemperance, and of F the oppositions to these foresaid good parts. Intemperance therefore according to *Ciceron*, is such a kind of obedience vnto lusts, merely repugnant to the right mind, and vnto all prescription of reason, that the priuate desires can neither be gouerned nor contained in any moderation; and thereof are two parts: one which excessivelyuzzleth it selfe in delicacie, and another which doth not. By violence of the first, men vnreasonably gallop into the perillous gulfe of pleasures, by spurring vpon their libidinous appetites against reason: That other, which is called *avaricia*, is a kind of falsouge or fencelesse hardnesse or dulnesse in despising all pleasures, honest and dishonest whatsoeuer. Of which temper wee shall not in this our age find many; G howbeit, certaine avaricious misers (which haue no fence nor feeling inwardly) doosome deale encline to that humour. This is a most pernicious disease of the mind, noysome to him that is so affected, and most daungereous vnto them that conuerse with people of that strange disposition. Incontinence being opposite to the first part of temperance, is seene in riot, luxurie, and drunkennesse: vpon which, infinite sorts of diseases are bred; blunting the shapenesse of reason, and dulling the wits edge; making persons altogether vnfitt for the performance of any noble Offices. And often haue I wondered, that our nation breathing in such a temperate climate, should so much encline to that Dutch distemperature of drunkennesse, which *Seneca* termeth *Voluntariam insaniam*. For thereby nature is weakened and corrupted, the keene edge of the best vnderstanding rebated, wrath without reason kindled, lust without measure incensed, secrets of greatest moment disclosed, words to particular persons, and sometimes to the Commonwealth, offensiue vttered. Wonder it is therefore, why men should voluntarily drowne themselues in excesse; a little is comfortable, and that Proverbe, *Nequid nimis*, very medicinable, if it can be willingly digested. Rapacitie being adiunct to incontinence, hurteth many, proceeding from riot and immeasurable expence: when princes and noble persons impose grieuous burthens vpon their subiects and tenaunts, to maintaine that excesse; or when they put cruel and vniust meanes in execution, to take away mens goods by strong hand or hypocriticall violence vnder the robe of justice. Against gentleness, being the second part of temperance, the devouring fire, vengeance, or crueltie, standeth opposite: Adiunct thereto, mercilesse, or (as it were) steeled immanitic. Such are those which tyrannize ouer captiues, persons prostrated; nay, such will not spare the dead, but like wilde beastes feede vpon them with the fangues of malicious and venomous rancour.

Opposite to mercie (which is the adiunct of Clemencie) standeth lentitudo, or foolish pitie, being the part of a blockish magistrate, as I will partly note in the Morals of my third booke. But crueltie doth not only resist temperance & justice, but fortitude also, which I shall also manifest in the Morals of my fourth booke.

Against modestie (which is the third and last part of temperance) contumaciously stand impudencie, being a most detestable vice in the presence of God, or of all good men, which contemneth or neglecteth all decencie, with ho-

**A** honestie of life, opening a large and easie way to vicious conuerstation, void of all feare and shame. Also Pride and Arrogancie (which withstand humiliation) is another opposite rotten member; whereby men in a blind loue of themselues imagine more excellent parts and perfections contained in them than are, and arrogating vertues beyond their apprehension and practise: This may be called a vaine, insolent, and foolish ostentation: a vice rife in many princes courts, and proper to flatterers, braggarts, and buffones.

**B** Carelesnesse and negligence likewise, beeing the qualities of sluggish dolts, and persons affotted with curiositic, (which is the inordinate diligence or desire to learne arts vaprofitable, cuill, and vnnecessarie) stand opposed vnto the true studies of learning: semblably, scurulous prating, and vnsauourie girding, (such as parasites, stage-players, and other giddie-headed Mimickes vse, according vnto the opinion of *Aristotle*) opposite-  
Lib.2. & 4. ad Nchomachum.ly stand against ciuile and ingenuous speech, discourse, and affabilitie. Howbeit, the wittie, well seasoned, and discreet sayings of prudent and sage persons, with a decent alacritie, which minister no cause of offence, (but may bee with reasonable and plausible moderate conuerted) is very commendable and praise-worthie. For such as abhorre ieasting, are de-  
**C** med dull, clownish, vnsociable, and Stoicall after a fashion. Which sort of people, to toward and ingenuous persons is more odious than the bitter Buffone.

There is likewise another sort of people, which in countenance, speech, action, gate, and gesture, grossly counterfeit a kind of grauitie, to conceale their foolishnesse: whose adulterate sapience to men of sound iudgement is most absurd and ridiculous; and others which in princes courts (to make the nobler sort laugh) practise (though not so cunningly) the parts of *Tarleton*: by simulation deeming in themselues, how that shew will bee thought somewhat contrarie vnto their owne natures, which are more than halfe the same: and these fellowes at vnawares palpably fall in-  
**D** to some foolish and odious affectation of ciuilic: whereas (indeede) in them there is not any condition verely vertuous, or constant. Others which are not, and yet would seeme ciuile (adulterating their arrogant natures, with the meere colouris of grauitie) flubber it vp most improperly and odiously.

Howbeit, these qualities (though herein somewhat I haue digressed from the subiect of my matter) are more fit for the knowledge of Palladines and Courtiers, which I refeire to *Baltasar Castiglion*, and *Duoro di Pascolo*, in their discourses vpon Court-ship: Onely this which *Plato* ci-  
**E** teth in the person of *Socrates*, our outside and inside must bee the same in all. *Contendendum est enim potius ut sub legitimis institutis temperari effici-  
amur, quam ut sub dialecticis rationibus de Temperantia disputeremus: quando-  
quidem summa quadam difficultate cognoscitur; & cognita sine usu non modo  
nihil profunt, sed & obsum quamplurimum: quodque magis est nisi re ipsa possi-  
deatur, perfecte cognosci nequit, &c.*  
plus lib. 20.

The fourth and last extreme of Modestie doth consist in excesse of apparel, garments, and other ornaments of the bodie, when they bee made only for vaine ostentation of the mind: which hath beeene a notable imputation, wherewith all our English men, more than any nation of the world, haue beeene shamefully branded amongst forrenners for their disguised fashions, and sumptuous habiliments beyond the bounds of prudence, moderation, or habilitie: some women after a preposterous fashion, attired like men in doublets; and some men like women in petticoates. This excesse hath so generally dispersed it selfe in our nation, that by their exterior new-fangled robes the wifest of our aduersaries or emulators in forraigne parts haue past their iudgements of our giddie minds and vnconstant behauaviours, inwardly saying, That in wearing Dutch hats with French feathers, French doublets and colletts after the custome of Spaine, Spanish hose, and rapiers of Valentia, Turkish coates, Italian cloakes, and perfumes, with such like; wee likewise had stolne the faults and excesses of those countreyes which wee did imitate naturally. Besides, what a shame was it for vs to bee noted with this exorbitate excesse, that base tailliers, and others which worke as hirelings, aspiring to that abhominalle and vndecent singularitie, should equall themselues in the cost and fashion of their attire, with some of the greatest Barons in this land: a fault not to bee imputed vnto the lawes, for those are precise and strict in such comely considerations; but in the dissolute and intemperate affectiōns of people, which in steed of a little libertie, make a licence at large, tyrannizing vpon the princes gentle disposition and lenitie. Hence was it, that the nobilitie to distinguish themselues by this outward apport of their degrees and riches from the rascall rabble of base ruffians, were driuen to most extreme charge, that they might make a difference of themselues from them equiualent in proportion. Which course had the prince then kept, answerable in her state aboue some Ladies and others in the like analogie: then might shee with ease haue consumed the vnspeakable masse of Treasure. By this meane the substance of other tailliers, craftsmen, and mechanicall fellows was dayly more encreased, and the fortunes of our gentlemen exhausted. Which leprosie did in short time so spread it selfe through this nation that diuers liuings of auntient demesne and inheritance which haue continued in succession from manie grandfathers of one race did hang in tailliers shoppes and were piled vp in the Persian and Spanish merchants coffers. This emulation and excesse hauing further preuailed, grew to such outrage, that when proper maintenance fayled in some to support such riot, they violently or secretly tooke from others to supply the same: which hath beeene the demolition and confusion of many noble families and persons, lately great in worldly reputation: others in a priuate want, purchased by their owne intollerable profusion, haue perished in their pestilent practises, tending to the common spoyle, for satisfaction of their insatiable appetites: *Semper enim in ciuitate quibus opes nullae sunt bonis inuident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, noua exoptant; inopia suaram rerum usurari omnia student.*

*Salust. in con. Cat. tites: Semper enim in ciuitate quibus opes nullae sunt bonis inuident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, noua exoptant; inopia suaram rerum usurari omnia student.*

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**A Student.** This profusion therefore next to the vice of gluttonous surfeit, ought principally to bee restrained by wise and moderate princes and noblemen : for it drayneth their treasure , enfeebling that true heroicall spirit of their minds, either adding to their pride ( vnto which people commonly that delight in such gay things , are most subiect ) or mollifying and depraving their liberall natures and conditions with lust and ouer-delicat effeminacie.

But thus much in breefe as I could, expressing the adiuncts and members of Temperance, and of her opposites , subalternately respecting the purse : now somewhat concerning the beneficence and liberalitie which be-  
**B fitteth potentates.**

It is not thought fit, that princes should precisely stand at vtterance with true liberalitie beeing ofit selfe merely vertuous : but that they shunne a generall largesse or profusion rather, which most Kings affect most in the beginning of their reignes , considering that there are many (whose seruices hauing long expected recompence) which should bee seafched and encouraged in their faithfulnesse and honesties with some secret taste of royll Munificence.

**C** This consideration in some proceedeth out of a magnificent heart, most liberally garnished with true vertues ; and in others , from ambition, and a vaineglorious desire of somewhat more than ordinarie, cunningly couched in their owne heads. Princes therefore shall so much, or more bee warned and take heede of this excesse then of auarice after a sort, least by such bestowing, the force of beneficence be diminisched according to *Cicero Officiorum 3.*

*Senatum est quod libenter facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis ,* For how can a man properly &earme that a benefite bestowed which is a meere malifice to the bestower ; and hence is that Proverbe of *Hunius* fitted to this purpose, *Benefacta malefacta malefacta arbitror .* Yet if God haue so prouided that a Prince must surely fall into the choise of those two damnable extremes ( both which all Princes should hold detestable as snakes ) of the

**D** two mischieves, I would hee rather did encline to couerise : for wealth giueth some shaddow to shame : albeit our wise men and all Philosophers consent that it is dishonestie ; but after rapacitie , which is engendered out of the putrifaction of prodigalitie, ragged infamie doth attend with an almes basket. Neither is it intended, that princes should tie such a Gordian knot vpon their purse, as nothing may without *Alexanders resolution* and necessitie loose the same, but that they may with moderation and vpon good cause exceede rather in liberalitie : which the seldomer vsed, may be the richer when it happeneth : and if it come often, then so much the shorter and sweeter.

**E** There is another fashion of Liberalitie peculiar to princes, which may bee teamed a beneficence : and this braunch of vertue graffed , is in the very top of iustice : for in all Common-weales , of the soundest institution, there are alwayes some capitall crimes and forfeitures , out of the

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which

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which a wise prince in his iustice, may by good discretion very commendably give a pleasing tast of his liberalitie to persons vertuous and of deserft, according to their qualities, that good men may live by the fall of euill members, and not that bad people may be made worse by the spoyles of honest men, vnto whome the dignities and possessions of such as are worthely rooted out for their wickednesse, may be collated. By which kind of beneficence he greatly magnifieth himselfe. First, in beeing honoured for his iustice against offendours : secondly, by preferring perlons noted for their worthinesse; thirdly, with his care had of the Commonwealth, which hee ciuilizeth and secureth by the extirpation of such malefactors : fourthly, through giuing heart and courage to men of qualitie, so to demeine them selues by profitable studies and vertuous liiving, that they may stand in the like grace : fifthly, by taking away from the people all opinion of couetousnesse in himselfe, when hee reserueth not any benefite to his priuate vse, but is seene to doe it in iustice, without any desire of hauing. Lastly, by not extenuating his proper faculties in such bestowing. Thus shall others bee satisfied, his owne power strengthened, and his priuate treasure sparred. Which kind of beneficence, king *Henry* the eight vsed ( when the Chaunteries and religious houses , to the value of two hundred pounds yearly, and vnder, with all lands and goods belonging them, were by Parliament graunted vnto him in the seuen and twentieth yeare of his raigne) by bestowing those lands vpon the speciall gentlemen in every Shire, where they were dissoluued, more manifesting a good conscience, than any couetousnesse in the cause. And hence was it, that the commotions in *Lincolne Shire*, *Yorke Shire*, and in other parts of this Realme, vnder the colour of a dislike, vpon a new size of Subsidie to be leuied, were so quickly quieted by the gentlemen, principall heads in those disturbed parts, whose every countenance armated the seditious commons, which once and againe stirred to disturbance and subuersion of the present quiet; beeing (as it was thought) first kindled at the fire, which M. *Thomas Cromwell*, then Lord priuie Seale, and Vicegerent generall of the Spiritualties, brought with him, to make desolate those houses, and all other Abbeys, which were soone after dissoluued.

For Treasurers of princes, noble men, and priuate persons, by their gifts to gaine a good opinion amongst good men of their true liberalitie, these three cautions are required : First, a respect vnto the time; secondly, to the quantitie; thirdly, to the person : when, how much, and vpon whome they will bestow : the time limited, when it may stand them in most steed which bee rewarded, not preiudicing others to maintaine the same, according to the saying of *Cicerio*, *Ab hoc genere largitionis, ut alijs derur alijs auferatur aberunt iij qui rempub. suebuntur*: As in graunting of Monopolies to the pleasuring of some one man, by the preiudicing of a multitude, which is very dangerous : as also when one rich merchant is suffered to ingrosse some one whole commoditie into his owne hands. As it is written of a craftie *Sycilian*; who with money that was none of his owne, but lent vnto him as in trust,

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**A** trust to bee restored, vpon demaund bought all the yron out of the yron-mongers shops in *Syracuse* : and when marchants had from diuers places repaired to that citie, this Ingrosster furnished them with that commoditie, not greatly raising the price thereof : yet so, that for the disbursement of fiftie talents hee gayned an hundred ; which was a double vse : for a Talent *Attucke* amounted to sixe hundred crownes : in so much, as by bestowing thirtie thousand crownes, he gained cleere threescore thousand, and had a quicke retурne of his money. But the bruit hereof beeing brought vnto the tyrant *Dionysius* ; albeit the money was not taken from him, (which many miserable tyrants would haue done) yet was hee banished from **B** *Syracuse* . Which punishment was so much the lesse, by how much the more that tyrant was taught by the like precedent.

These & such like Monopolies (where many busynesses are handled for the Commonwealth) are onely fit for princes, and not to be diuolued or vnadvisedly bestowed vpon marchants or other subiects : for so much as they procure a generall malice of the people for a priuat mans thankes vnto the prince: and some princes get not so much as thankes. The quantitie likewise ought to be measured by the rule of their owne faculties which bestow them : the persons vpon whome it is bestowed respected according to their worth and qualitie, taking good heed that they benefit not their friends by preiudicing stran-

**C** gers, or oppresse any to maintaine the report of their liberalitie, breaking that bubble of vaine glorie soone pufte vp with emptinesse, which allureth babes and fooles into the bottomlesse waues of confusion : *Suum namque cuique in ci. off. 3. commodum ferendum est potius, quam alterius commodus derelendum.* In giuing therefore, respects are had vnto the qualities of those persons benefited, not to their fortunes, *Melius est enim apud bonos quam apud fortunatos beneficium coll. off. 1. cari* (saith Cicero) : all eminent tokens of good knowledge and vertues in people must be cherisched and encouraged with beneficence : such as loue them much, should be rewarded with much, which is intended by the interior and not any exterior speech, as for meere affection onely, not benefiting flatterers

**D** which intirely loue for lucre, considering how the cares of this fraile honour with the deceiptfulnesse of riches & fleshly lusts, enter the thoughts of such Sycophants possessing their hearts, *and choking the divine grace within them which is made unfruitfull* : also they that by such deceit seeke riches, vndoubtedly fall into temptations, snares, and into manie foolish and noisome lusts, which *drown men in perdition.* Mark. cap. 4. Tim. 1. cap. 6.

They therefore that in giuingvse these respects, resemble fruitfull grounds, yeelding much more graine than they received ; when in a charitable respect and for necessarie sake some bee rewarded, that haue not any manifest tokens of deseru or vertue requiring it : which in such good and sound creation confoundeth melodiously with the giuers vertues and dignities. Yet for so much as the number of people cravu and wanting is infinite, relieve and preferment must extend in speciall to their owne countreymen, nati-  
**E** onals, friends, and fellowes : some of which are woon with a resemblance in fashions, manners and conditions, others with benefites and gracious offers

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mutually

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mutually done and receiued. Which obseruation likewise seemeth in *Salust*, F  
 2. *comis. cas.* who writheth, That *Vbi Romani virtute pericula propulerant, socijs argue amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficis amicissas parabant.*

Malicious parasites and picke-thankes, the canker and rust of iust honour and riches, must bee blotted out of the bookes of your beneficence, as the most vngreatefull vipers of nobilitie : for if they find your inclination to their subtleties, then will they neuer cease, like a Northeast wind, till they haue blasted all before them, both stocke and reputation. *Malitia nam-*

*Ad Cos. de Rep. que pramis exercetur; vbi ea demperis nemo omnium gratius malus est.* By G  
*ordinand.*

*Job. Bod. de Rep.* these meanes likewise may circumspect princes aucupate the seruices of informers, tale-bearers, delatours, and promoters ; not by proposing the liuings and goods of condemned persons vnto them for reward ; but by feeding them onely with money, *Ne pradiorum querendorum proposita spe ad calumniandum impellantur: sin autem delatoribus pramia eripiantur, vix est ut illa peccatorum ultio sequatur.* Wee haue here in this our Commonwealth much like order obserued : as that any man preferring iust information against private persons, transgressing the statutes penall, shall haue for his meed halfe the forfeiture and penaltie limited : which if in other matters capitall, and of more moment, it were permitted, would bee a sure and vndoubted meanes, to restraine many crimes, and hainous transgressions of H people.

There is likewise a kind of Liberalitie most expedient, which Cicero calleth beneficence ; being as it were a *willing habite, or inclination, mouing men to doe good.* This goodness hee defineth by the similitude of them which will not restraine the course of a riuier freely running, as not maliciously crossing anothers preferment, when it withdraweth not one mite from their owne, but further, or aduaunce it rather. The contrarie to which is very rife in euery princes court at this day. Likewise it is held a kind of Liberalitie, to giue sound and honest counsell from a well-willing heart to the best of their cunning, vnto such as will consult with them : this is a Liberalitie from a faithfull Counsellour, peculiar vnto his prince and countrey : which faithfulness ought mutually to bee recompenced vnto him by the prince with honour and dignities : for wee read it in the Psalmes of that blessed Prophet : *Dilige bonum seruum ut animam tuam, & traxa eum ut fratrem tuum.* Good Princes therefore will shew their beneficence vnto good Counsellors, being absent, present, aline, or dead : euen in aduauncing their children to those offices after them, if they bee found worthie. Which truly royll beneficence hath woon so many good counsellours hearts, that not onely they haue left all their lands and possessions at their death vnto the king ; but some of them haue most ioyfully sacrificed their liues for his safetie. The third strayne of beneficence, is by similitude of him that giueth light vnto the torch of another from his owne : for this is a neighbourly beneficence, not hindering his owne, in lending helpe vnto friendes and countreymen. Which kinde of honest lending

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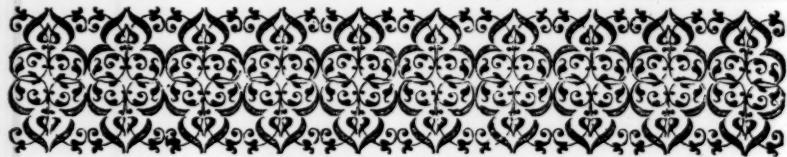
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A lending and dutifull repayment is very needfull and commodious, being a true vertuous braunch of Liberalitie, as is witnessed by that royll Psal-mist, *Vir iustus liberalis est & munum das*; declaring, that lending is a member of Liberalitie; which vndoubtedly tendeth to the conseruation of humane societie.

Thus much (least I should wearie my selfe or the Reader with matters too vulgar and generally knowne) I thinke sufficient for this Office. Howbeit, there are many things which I would and may not set downe: and much also which I cannot, though I would most gladly; because I want meanes to attaine vnto the knowledge of some speciall secretes in this Of-

B fice of Treasurers: howbeit, finding my force vnworthie such my-  
steries, I rest well satisfied with these ordinarie rules; refer-  
ring my selfe to some things, which (as occa-  
sion shall offer in this Booke ensu-  
ing) do subalternatly  
respect it.

*Finis Libri Primi.*



## The second Booke of Offices.

*Office of Se-  
cret Counse-  
lors.*

F G H I K com-  
T is a most chargeable burthen, heauily leaning on princely shoulders, to gouerne by the compasse of sapience, to minister iustice with equabilitie, to bridle the boldnesse of vice, to giue a liuely spirit to the desire of vertue, to maintaine a due proportion in all Offices, and to win the constant loue of a Commonwealth with excellent prudence and desert: yet without these either in the prince, in him that counselfeth, or in them both, no Commonwealth can flourish: for the natures of mens wits are threefold; that which is principall and sacred, can out of his owne iudgement (without assistance) advise and execute soundly, with all commendable facilitie: the second dealeth wisely by direction: the third can doe neither; the first excellent in it selfe, the second laudable by the first, the last vnprofitable in all. If therefore the prince haue this principall gift, then is hee the Sunne to those staires of his Counsell, which giue a reasonable light from his influence; being a sweet perfection of goodnesse in any Commonwealth. And if his Counsellours haue that diuine spirit of Sapience in themselues by Gods ordinance, for the weale of his people, where the prince hath this second facultie, to be directed or perswaded by them; yet is that notwithstanding a strong, sufficient, and good state: But if both the Prince and his Counsell hold the substance of all good wisedome in themselues wisely to consult and direct, being willing also to be counselfed and directed in wisedome, without doubt that dominion will flourish and amplifie. Contrarily, what a wretched and ruinous estate, which faileth both in the prince, and in his counsell: As when God had purposed to destroy the state of *Israell*, he threatened to that nation, how children should beare their scepter, and feeble persons direct their publicke counsels. Which kind of feblenesse is attributed not vnaptly to foolish and ambitious counsellors, whom *Salust* in one Oration to *Caius Iulius Cesar* resembleth vnto the superfluous ballast of a ship, which as things vnprofitable, *minimique precij* (vpon the suddaine violence of any tempest) the masters and Officers, (being puzzled and in distresse) hoise first ouer board. Neither can it serue, that the prince haue all (which may be required) in himselfe onely; but that they which must ayde him in administration of his estate bee furnished with

**A** competent knowledge also: for as it sufficeth nob<sup>r</sup> to keepe the bodie in health by withdrawing all euill humors and infirmitiess from the head, vnlesse the heart, with other principall and inward members of the bodie, bee semblably with due correspondence attempered in their seuerall fuctions: so doth it not accord, that the king being absolute in his parts onely, the state also should be safe, if his Seruitours doe not by some dutefull diligence and proportion of vertues answerable, knit all up in perfection? For what is hee that can consult and dispatch many seriouse causes at once and absolutely without helpe? Suppose him more sound in wisedome and knowledge than *Salomon*, or stronger by three degrees than *Hercules*; yet doth experiance in

**B** nature teach vs, that a necessarie necessitie requireth this election of approued good Counsellors, without which ayde no prince can support the burthen of a kingdome: neither can his owne outward fences properly performe those inward Offices, which are required towards the ruling of a multitude. Besides, according with *Tacitus*, *No man is so naturally prompt, or hath that dexteritie to deale in his owne cause, which he shall find in himselfe, folliciting for another*. And in another place, *Gravisimi principis labores queis orbem terra capessit egenus administrativus*: The most serious labours of a prince (by which hee winneth the whole earth) stand in need of helpe. For they to whom much busynesse and many people are committed, haue much need of counsell.

**C** Every good Prince which did formerly gouerne, was attended with as many Counsellors, as he was with eyes, eares, and hands: *Caius Cesar with Quintus Padus and Cornelius Balbus; Augustus with Mecenas and Agrippa; Adrianus with Celsus, Salinius, and Nerarius; Marcus Antoninus with Sequola, Murianus, and Volanius; Seuerus with Papirianus*. And to beshort, our late Princes of most fortunate and blessed memorie, Queene Elizabeth, and your Maiestie, with Sir *Nicholas Bacon, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir John Cheeke, Sir Francis Walsingham, William Lord Burghley, Robert Earle of Leycester, Robert Cecyll Earle of Salisburie, Sir Tho. Egerton Lord Elsmere and Chancellor, Sir Tho. Sackuylle Earle of Dorset now Lord Treasurer*, with diuerse others. And hence is it, that *Cicero* noteth, *Not with swiftnesse and bodily strength great masters are ordered, but with counsell and authoritie*. Likewise *Salust*, *With much reading and hearing I find, that all Nations haue beene prosperous, so long as just counsell preuailed with them: but being once with partialitie, feare, and pleasure corrupted, presently their wealth wasted, their Empire vanished, and slaverye tyrannized upon them*. And as *Dionysius Halicarnassens* writeth, the cause *lib. 2. 2.* why Rome so long flourished, was, *That the gouernours of the Empire were directed by Counsels of the Senate, not following their owne opinions: for by the assembly of wise Counsellors, the princes wisedome is increased*. As *Capitolinus* writeth: *Bonus fit si bonis amicis utatur*: That Prince which maketh vse of *lib. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.* good friends, is made a good Prince. By their Counsels likewise saith *Otho the Emperour* in *Tacitus* is the goodnessse and wisedome of princes opened: *lib. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.* also *Salust* calleth, *Prosperitatem regis famam Consiliarij*: The kings prosperitie to depend vpon the Counsellors fame: and so by good inuention, the fame

of a Counsellour to depend vpon the kings prosperitie. But it is needless F to stand so much vpon the necessitie thereof, being so well knowne to the weakest judgement.

A Counsell therefore, according to *Badin*, is a lawfull congregation or assembly of choise persons, which aduise the king in times of peace and warre how to gouerne the Commonwealth: and as *Furio Ceriolano* defineth them Counsellors are apt persons chosen for fit businesse, in whom there is required good sufficiencie towards the administration of all matters debated in Counsels. *Demosthenes* therefore calleth consultation, *The chapter and constancie, the base of all vertues.*

I will particularly speake in my third booke of Offices somewhat concerning G the Councils of England: and hauing in these Offices occasion generally to touch the secret counsels of a state also, I will breifely write what I haue in part gathered concerning the strict and priuat counsell of France, omitting the counsell at large (which is called the Grand Counsell) consisting vpon the L. Chauncellour to whom with the maisters of the Requests for their more ease and expedition in publicke businesse (with which they formerly were much entangled) king *Charles the eight* added seuenteene counsellours spirituall and temporall. After whom his successor *Lewes the 12* super-added one prelate and two more counsellours fulfilling the number of 20 besides two secretaries, whereof one did serue in place of an actuarie: it being further ordayne, that these should keepe six moneths continually together in counsell betwixt seuen and ten in the forenoone and after dinner betwixt three and fve hours. This Senate therfore (which the French king doth by peculiar demonstration call his own counsell from which by the edict of *Philip le beau* no persons of that Realme can appeale, because the king himselfe which acknowledgeth no superiour in his dominions vnder God, is the chiefe thereof) conuerset in all publicke affaires of the Common-wealth, respecting the king and gouernment, which is aduised and directed thereby. Albeit the king be iudge of this Counsell, and of the Parliament, yet is hee subiect to the lawes thereof. Nam *Parliamentis secundum deum rex solus Imperat, qui absens aquè in Parliamensi ac in priuati Consilij decretis loquitur*:

For(as a God) the king himselfe only ruleth in the Parliaments: who(though hee bee not present in the Sessions) yet hath his voyce royll assenting or dissenting both in the Parliaments and priuate Counsels of state: Albeit the Parliamentall iurisdiction surpasseth this Counsell. Neither is it permitted, that any President, Marshall, or other principall magistrate shall (during the time of his authoritie) retaine his place, or give a voice in that Office; but is sequestred or suspended from entermedling in those secret consultations vpon very reasonable and needfull respects: because certaine expostulations may be concerning some negligent, indirect, or corrupt dealings in their places otherwise. In this Counsell king *Charles the eight* instituted, that the Lord Chauncelor should bee present, who (being directed by the true rule of Justice, should take the rites and suffrages of those other Counsellors by iust number in any serious causes. King *Philip le Longe* ordained of this

*Vite. Lupende  
Mag. Francie.*

*Joh. Tilton in  
Com. de Rebus  
Gall.*

## The second Booke of Offices.

27

A this Counsell twentie Noblemen : whereof six were of the blood, two Marshals, the Archbishop of Rhoane, the Bishop of S. Malo, with the Chancellor of Fraunce, and nine others. These had the determining of all great causes ; ordering (as in their wisedomes was thought fit) the families of the King, of his Queen, and of his children : also to take account each moneth of the Treasurers, and to reforme any thing which needed helpe in that Office. In which (as in our Counsell chamber of England) there is a register or Diarie booke kept of all speciall causes there handled and debated, which deserue monument. And this Counsell is therefore fidly called the Commonwealths heart, wherein the knowledge and vnderstanding is placed, beeing properly termed, *Dux & Imperator vires mortaliuum* : The Captaine and Commandauner of mortall mens liues. For those are the chiefe Morall faculties of the mind ; vnto which euen as the bodie by obedience is bound, so semblably should the people dutifullly subiect themselues to this Aristocratical Senate. And therfore that extreame & straine of prudence, is in extremities permitted to this Counsell onely, because they can make best vse of it; finding (in their prudent foresight) when and vpon what occasions for the Commonwealth to put the same in execution, as *Salust* in one of his Orations. : *Patres consilio valere debent, populo superuacanea est calliditas*. The Fathers and Senatours should exceed and preuale in their Counsell : Calliditie becommeth not the Commonwealth.

B Them therefore that serue in such Office, it behoueth to be very well skilled in princely cunning, being with diligence employed in affaires of state, and politicke matters, narrowly respecting gouernment. This Counsell especially conuerseth in ciuile causes ; as in punishing of Rulers, Deputies, Justices of peace, Generals of armies, Coronels, priuat Captaines, inferior Counsellors of the prince ciuile or martiall, concerning their iust dealing or iniquitie in execution of their Offices. In whose doome it resteth, whether they shall bee discharged or retained in their places, which persons are to be thought seruiceable, & which not. This Counsell likewise prouideth, that there be no falsehood in paying of wages and prouision for victuall vsed by the treasurers & prouant masters in campe or garrison. It hath in like sort a regard limited vnto the treasurers and officers of the prince his great receit, to whom the collection and conseruation thereof remaineth : but the dispensation and imployment only resteth in the command of this Counsell, which likewise hath in trust the consideration of all weightie treaties of peace betwixt their people and other nations, of leagues, amities, commerce & entercourse, of militarie complots, confederacies, and actions, and of dispatching away well instructed embassadours with any complementarie termes of beneuolence towards forren princes, or states, really or verbally to be professed or coloured : to deliberate and resolute by what meanes, in how short time, and whether in priuate or publikely such busynesse should bee managed : with some other intricacies of more importance, of which here I may not take any notice ; neither (if I could) can it bee thought fit that I should open them, being only referred as mysteries peculiar to this which the prince calleth his owne Counsell.

C

D

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E ij

Those

Those secrets of a State, which commonly sorte beyond the vulgar appre-  
hension, beeing certaine rules, or as it were cabals of gloriuous government  
and successe both in peace and warre (apprehensible to few secret Counsellors  
in some Commonweales, which either languish or wax ynfortunate) are  
locked vp in foure generall rules. First, in the congregacion of wise magi-  
strates, including the priuar Counsell. These vpon importune causes in mat-  
ters of highest conseuence (that cannot otherwize bee remedied, but by  
meanes most necessarie to bee concealed) knit vp the prudence of their resolu-  
tions in fynous knots and serpentine wreathes of mysticall and intricate  
meanes, and instruments, fetching in their curious machinations and denises  
with bait, hooke, and line, for any graue purpose beyond ordinarie reason. G  
The second is in the maistrie of State, which includeth every prince his pri-  
uate power with the strength of his wisedome and fortitude, in allies, monies,  
confederates, inuasions and euasions, in all gloriuous hazards and aduentures.  
In seeking certainly to learne out those mysteries, the vulgar are commonly  
deceived: for it is so ishadowed, as not all princes are well acquainted with  
their owne force, and how faire their armes may by meanes sufficiently  
stretch: onely some few very prudent and industrious Counsellors, of grauest  
and most iudicious obseruation, are throughly well acquainted withall. The  
third consisteth in iudgements: wherein vpon the decision, and appendance  
of some weightie matters (respecting the common quiet and securitie by cer-  
taine mysticall circumstances in handling) strange Oracles, not apprehensible  
by vulgar sence, are oftentimes closed: as by suffering a mischiefe rather than  
an inconuenience, and by breaking off a leg or arme, to save the best ioynt  
from perishing. The fourth concludeth in the warie leuyng of warre, in the  
skilfull exercising, leading, and encouraging of souldiours vpon seruices vnto  
them vñknowne, and tending to the most renowne, protection, and augmen-  
tation of their countrey; which entirely dependeth vpon stratagemes of  
warre, deuised and executed by the Commaunder his noble and industrious  
fagacitie and secrecie; and in them many times are the weales and safeties of  
puissant kings and kingdomes wholly contained. H

In choice of this most honourable Senate it is very needfull, that the prince  
shew great prudence and discretion: as in that sufficiencie which must serue  
the mature expedition of all causes committed to the administration therof:  
so that Election (being as it were a franke action of the mind, which in choice of  
gouernours accepteth the best, and in doubtfull evils avoideth the worse) wholly  
belongeth the prince. Likewise noble industrie (being a ceasefesse and sincere  
cogitation, and mentall lucubration for the lust and inviolable honour of his Prince  
and of the Commonwealth) is the true cognisance of a good Counsellor: and  
these two qualities in them both are apparant and true tokens of both their  
wisedomes. The worthiest choice that a Prince can make for such a Senate, is  
ouer of the true nobilitie, which vnder him should gouerne and amplifie the  
Commonwealth: I meane principally those that are notable and approued  
for their vertues and honour, encountering neerely with the dignities of their  
blood and families: such as flie not into the palaces of a Commonwealth by  
the

A the casements of their couetise, with the lazie wings of their wealth, but enter the triumphant port of honour, marshalled by their conspicuous vertues. Very noble was that sacred institution of S. Louis and Charles the fifth, French kings, which by their speciall edicts cautioned, that in their dominions no magistracies or Offices might bee sold and bought, but frankly bestowed vpon prudent, learned, continent, and honest persons, to the best of their good fame and skill respectively : for such dinundation of dignities (as *Heliodorus abalus* and *Vespasianus* vsed, and which was by the iust Emperour *Alexander Seuerus* refus'd) is most corrupt, odious, and pestilent in any Commonwealth, according to M. Bodin in his booke of Commonwealth : *In omni genere ciuitatum tur-  
piissima ac perniciosa honorum ac premiorum (qua virtuti debentur) merca-  
tura.* In all sorts of cities, the marchandize of honours and rewards which are due to vertue, is most foule and pernicious. For what more dishonour in any state can bee found, than when honours and dignities are vnworthily distributed? *Iacet etenim & fordeicit reipub. gloria cum indigatis honores tribuuntur.* Job. Bodin.

B For the glory of every such Commonwealth (where honours are vnworthily distributed) is throwne downe and defaced. Such vertuous and worthie Counsellors therefore by the princes sacred discretion (as it is in his Maiesties Realmes of England and Scotland) may be chosen out of those Principalities or Provinces which bow to his scepter. For if wise men of approoued goodnesse and sufficiencie for that place find themselues and all of their nation exempted from this honourable societie, it is vnspeakable, how contemptuously they will stomacke it, thinking not without some ground, that they be not respected but suspected. And from hence (though by misprizion they smother vp their rancour for a seafon, yet hauing attained some maturite; malice, dangerous and odious conspiracies and machinations, with inductions of forren princes, breake forth imediately : raising rebellions, and arming subiects against their naturall Soueraignes. *Ex rebus namque leuisissimis* Job. Bodin. *discordia sapè nascuntur, qua velut scintilla flamas excitant; ac postremò bellorum ciuilium Maxima incendia totam rem pub. peruidunt.* For out of most weake beginnings are discords many times bred : which even as little sparkles breake out into flames ; so that in conclusion, the greatest fires of ciuile warres take hold of the whole Commonwealth. And therefore it is held for a certaine truth, That nothing so soone moueth discord, as too much partiall distribution of rewards and honours. A prince therefore beeing assisted with Counsellors chosen out of his owne kingdomes, may better and more commodiously prouide against any future calamities. My iudgement is slender, but it may be thought how some discontentment vpon this ground, added to the fedicious fire in Ireland, when those stubborne rebels formerly withstood the proceedings of our late Soueraigne and her Deputies with the Counsell esta-  
Hippole. coll.

C blished in that realme. No persons though most prudent (for this is a sure and infallible position) being priuately discontented and ambitious, may safely be chosen into the fellowship of any princes priuat Counsell, but the guides and ringleaders of those Irish rebels were alwaies knowne to be discontented inwardly disturbed and ambitious : therefore the state was well handled in that

that point. To conclude vpon this therefore a prince without great impediments and principall remedies medicining that daunger, may not make choice of his secret Counsellors out of one kingdome onely, if hee retaine more principalities than one: because in bestowing all fauour or the greatest part thereof vpon one peculiar people, they grow so proud, that their associates, neighbouring them, stired vp with indignation, and despiteously repining therat, with generall maledictions crosse their proceedings: by which meanes communing sedicious cauls and quartels against them, they sometimes vnder that abominable pretext may make a way to diuest their liege Soueraignes, and it hath euer more beene obserued, that the like causes are most desperate, ending in much blood and crueltie. This is also most certaine, that a better choice may be found amongst many good, than out of a bad multitude. When they therefore which are vertuously affected, see their prince like a true patron or parent rather to studie their generall honour so much, the more readie will they be to make good remonstrance of their duties and honesties; being a principall meane to draw the worthiest of their Nobles and others to Philosophicall and needfull arts and studies: Neither may this choice bee made out of his owne houise or court onely; but by diligent inquisition he may learne which are best and most excellent in all prouinces: them vnder some other pretence the prince may send for, hauing their expences in journey beneuolently defrayed, and according to their sufficiencie for that place proceede in Election. By which kind of inquisition the Soueraigne may come to sure knowledge of all the most excellent and worthy persons in his realines. Such as are not chosen of them that were approued (for peraduenture some one or two may supplie the defect in that Counsell) must be with meeknesse, affabilitie, beneficence, great commendation for their vertues, and royall encouragement to perseuerance in the same dismissed. Heerein also deliberation is very requisite, a free pardon and prouision therefore for their securitie should be graunted and proclaimed, as was the auncient custome against the kings of Egypt after their deaths, according to *Diodorus*; which in open accusation either by word or writing can make prooef of their notable vnworthiness for that Office: and if any man scandalously lay some notable crimes vnto their charge, which cannot be prooued; hee which so maliciously woundeth any good mans fame, deserueth in all rigour to bee seuerely punished. Those accusations which are exhibited against any of them, must bee willingly and graciously receiued, heard, and remitted (if it bee requisite) to iust inquisition and iudgement. This auncient custome was obserued amongst the Romanes, in election of their magistrates, by which their Commonwealth gallantly flourished: and when that course declined, their State so much inclined, that it was miserable, and ruinous in short tyme. Not much vnlike was that of king *Philip Valois* called *Le Beau*, who published an Edict, That euerie third yeare inquisition should bee made into the manners, state, and behauour of the secret Counsellors, administring in the French state.

*Ioh. Tilius in  
Com. de Reb. gall.*

In

## The second Booke of Offices.

31

**A** In this forme of triall therefore great iudgement and good heed must bee had to those accusations so preferred, which sometimes like pilles haue their bitternesse fairely gilt and shaddowed, as hath beeene manifoldly seene by good experience heretofore. In which case the Prince imitateth S. *Thomas*, not crediting further than his eyes and hands haue seene and felt. For honours and Offices are either bestowed vpon men for desert, for fauour, or in respect of their power. He which in this choice hath inspexion onely to the first, sheweth wisedome and vertue: but they that simply stand vpon power and fauour, differ little from the touch of tyrannie.

**B** A fit Counsellor therefore a little after his election should haue adoption by the prince into that societie, before his noble and immediate ministers of Iustice; where, to him must bee shewed, that for his wisedome and honest parts, and in regard of the peoples good opinion, attesting his sufficiencie, choice was made of him: which good fame if he would cherish, the glorie should in speciaill redound vnto himselfe; whereas otherwise, the neglect thereof would disgrace and deiect him, proposing rewards and punishments suting with his demeanour: by which course the people will be well satisfied, the Counsellor tied to care how this honour may be with answerable dutie retained, and to knit vp the couenant, his oath being (as *Cicero* tearmeth it) a religious affirmation, must bee ministred vnto him in presence; which will

**C** summon his conscience to warie circumspection and faithfulness in that Office, arming him with honest constancie, when partiall respect of blood or friendship shall chalenge him vpon vniust tearmes; by which means he may take honourable exceptions against them. And hence is it that *Salust* sayth, How Counsellors should in their difficult consultations set apart all hatred, friendship, wrath, and mercie. *Haud enim facile vera provider animus ubi illa officiunt: neque quisquam omnium libidini simul & usui paruit*: For hardly can the mind foresee the truth where those offend, neither did euer any man become subiect at once to his lust and commoditic. And (to make it the surer) an oath is most auailable with honest and ingenuous consciences and

**D** natures, which *Cicero* likewise addeth to the charge of a magistrate. *Neque officiorum 3: contra rem publ. neque contra insurandum ac fidensi amici sui causa vir bonus facies: nec si Iudex quidem eris de ipso amico*: A good man will not enter into any action either against the Commonwealth, or contrarie to his oath, for any respect of friendship: no, though he were the Judge in his friends cause. For every noble magistrat which respecteth honour, will onely doe those things, *Qua salua fide facere posse: Nullum enim vinculum ad astringendam fidem iure iurando maiores arctius esse voluerunt*. For our Elders were of opinion, that there could not bee deuised any firmer bond to retaine a mans faith, than his solemne oath.

**E** If Princes therefore will hold this course in planting Counsellors, many very noble persons by birth, will with vertuous studies furnish and enable themselves for those Offices: and suppose, they beeing licenciously nuzzled in delicate effeminacie, corrupt their natures with pestilent sluggishnesse; yet will other ingenuous spirits (not so pampered and assotted with sensualities in

## The second Booke of Offices.

in their education) naturally contend to become absolute, and with some ex- F  
perience and practise prooue planets of happiness to the Commonwealth, where they minister.

In my iudgement that was a very strange and politike prouision of former times in Fraunce, which did so worke in the phantafticall spirits of those Noblemen: For *Vincentius Lupanus* noteth, That they did abhorre as a qualtie base, barbarous, and disgracefull, that their gentlemen of the most liberall birth and nature, should bee learned in the liberall Sciences and in Philosopphie: prouiding onely, that their education should tend to good skill in horsemanthip, in hunting, and in the practise of armes. In which opinion it seemeth to mee, that they were formerly confirmed, and animated by the G  
kings of that realme vpon very prudent respects: howbeit, I could neuer read it written in any booke, neither haue I receiued it from the mouth of any mans opinion, what cause might induce them to that kind of stupiditie. But (vnder pardon) I deeme, that they being of a fierie, stirring, and haughtie stomacke (as the noble natures of that Nation hath beeene many times by many wise obseruers noted) and being rooted or implanted rather to the ciuile factions of diuerse Dukes and pettie princes, through blood and alliance oppositely combined against some kings, and others of those prouinces; it hath beeene a kind of foolish caball, tending to the preseruation of that State, and taught vnto them for the priuation of their rationall and intellectuall knowledge, which otherwise, through their sedicious complots and deuices, (such as haue alwayes beeene plentifull amongst them) they might haue coyned out of the noble mint of hystories and other politike discourses, and therewithall endangered the publicke state. For certaine it is, that (by the goodnesse of God, and the naturall benefit of that climate vnder which they liue) those noble men of Fraunce are docile, ingenuous, apprehensiue, variable, rash, and for the most part fitter for alteration than confirmation of great affaires. Howbeit, in the flourishing age of king *Frauncis* the first, some threescore and ten yeares past, at what time God graciously visited the most parts of Christendome with his spirit of all true knowledge and literature; when the most comfortable beames of his blessed sonne our Sauiour Christ his Gospell, after a long and infernall eclipse of ignorance, beautifully brast out, and was dispersed amongst the poore, leane, and hunger-starued sheepe of his pasture, as well with vs in these Realmes, as with them, and in Germanie: even then did the French Nobilitie take it as their highest honour, and a true type of perfect glorie to bee learned in all vertuous contemplation and studies, that therein also (which so much surreacheth momentanie fortunes) they might like as many starres surmount, and be discerned from the vulgar shadwes. So that vnto men enriched with those noble qualities, the prince vertuously studying to glorie the state of that flourishing kingdome, diuolueth the great and noblest Maiesties, Offices, and Magistracies of his state (whereof the number is infinite) vnto such as were learned and vertuous. *Sola namque virtus vera Nobilitas est.* For very Nobilitie is composed of vertue onely. And certaine is it found in all kingdomes, That if the Prince delight in hunting, Po- K  
etrie,

A trie, Musick, Armes, Astrologie, &c. not onely those neerest him in court, but the vulgar will fashion themselues, according to their abilities vnto such studies and pleasures. And (if hee take comfort in wise and honorable counsellours) all his Nobles and Barons within the space of foure or fiuе yeareſ will bee fit to serue in ſecret Councell to the best princes of the world ; nay more, a king may make apt Counsellors of very meane men (*Qui maioribus suis virtute preludent* : Which giue more light of vertue than their ancestors) onely by this rule : ſo that his house or Court ſhall ſoone become a Schoole-house or Colledge of ſapience and vertue.

This likewiſe in the election of a Counſellor is one exceeding Principle,

B That euery Prince in the beginning of his reigne, without very weightie cause to the contrarie, continue thoſe Counſellors in their places, being left in ſeruice of his predecessor. Which wifedome hath well appeared in your moſt worthyly renowned Maieltie ; who with good ſucceſſe and auſpicious grace yeeldeſ your ſelſe to that courſe, vpon your Graces ihaftation to your heri-tage of this Crown imperiaſl of England, with the royalties annexed. Which ſome writers haue noted in diuers prudent kings, but amongſt others in *Lewis* the eleuenth, the French king : who being readie to depart this life, commen-ded to the truſt of his ſonne *Charles* the eight (then readie to ſucceed) the fide-lities of thoſe Counſellors which iſtantly did ſerue him ; intimating to him C in this caueat, That hee by good expeſience in himſelue had formerly ſelt the ſmart which ensued vpon the displacing of ſuch approoued, vertuous, and ho-nest minifters. Whose counſell tooke ſuch effect with king *Charles*, that hee li-ued in ſuch happy ſtate amongſt his Peeres and Counſell, as that in griefe conceiued of his death, two of his Officers about his perſon, then in ſeruice, ſuddenly died alſo. This *Charles* was ſo beloued, as hath not beene mentioned in the French histories of any king like him, except of the Emperour *Titus* ; before whom (for his humanitie, lenitie, liberalitie, goodneſſe, and vertues) hee was muſh preferred.

Vnto the making vp of this politike bodie, the profit, ruine, honour, and

D ſhaue of the prince and ſubiects are ſurely fastened. It behoueth therefore ſpecially, that Princes haue a ſharpe ſight into them of this ſocietie : for ad-mit ſome could be contented to deceiue ; yet thoſe finding the Prince more warily like a caſtfull father than a vigilant tyrant, which attendeth bloodie vantages, to looke into their actions, become faithfull, albeit againſt their will : and then being well encouraged with dignities and preferments in their diligencie and honeſties, they ſhall not haue any cauſe to wring from others vniuſtly : in ſomuch as they (finding that the prince groweth ſtudious of their weale) ſhall bee mooued entirely to neglect their owne priuate, for the better aduauncement of his ſeruice, and Maiestie. In which, if E they doe not both of them keepe rule, ſpace, time, tyme, and eare recipro-cally, then ſhall they both certainly miſtake in the deſcant of their plaine ſong.

Hercupon dependeth alſo, that ſecret Counſellors (in weightie matters by the Prince to them concredited) keepe counſell and ſecrecie : for (it being

deemed most odious, when a priuate person dispaleth the secrets of his friend F  
 that relieth vpon his Taciturnitie) how much more contemptuous and damnable is it in him, which discloseth the priuate consultations of his Prince ; when such ouverture portendeth great damage to the Common-wealth ? Heerein he reuerseth his truest honours, violateth royll affiance, and without any sence or religion had of his oath, (as impiously prophaned, as assumed solemnly) transgresseth to the death. In these considerations it is most behoofefull to conceale matters important from the knowledge of women; being of themselues by nature commonly desirous to heare, to know, and to talke all things. And hence was it, that *Salust* inueighing against *Cicero*, did obiect, That he did *Cum Terentia uxore consulere de Republica*: That hec did G  
 consult with his wife *Terentia* concerning State-matters . Certainly, such Counsellors (if a man may so tearme them, because they cannot keepe counsell, but lay that open to the great harme which is deliuere unto them in trustiest secret for the generall good) are for the most part basely disposed, vicious, loaden with heinous crimes and nefarious practises, vaine, audacious ; which glorie (to their owne shame) hauing no power nor moderation in hand, tongue, or heart : such as *Quintus Curius*, who communicating with a noble Romane strumpet called *Fulvia*; the treasons of *Lucius Cariline* (wherein he was a vigilant partisan and principall Sergeant himselfe) euen in the very forge of their treasonable practises, subuerted himselfe, with all his complots H  
 and complices. But it is evident by the example of young *Papirius*, (when vpon the importunacie which his mother vsed, to leарne out of him the Senates seerets) that he deuised a ridiculous bait, which tempted her with other Ladies verbally to prostitute their shame in the Senate ; wherein they made manifest their owne intemperance : but concerning this, being so common and notable, I referre them that list, to the Historie . Of the like nature was *Sempronius*, of whom *Salust* sayth, That it could not be discerned, whether she were more prodigall of her owne good fame, or of her money : *Sic enim libidine accensa fuit ut sapienti viros pereveret, quam pereveretur : qua sibi fidem prodiderat, & creditam abiurauerat* : For so vehement was the fire of her lust, that I  
 shee did much more desire mens companies, than men did hers : who did betray the trust of those that reposedit in her, and perfidiously deale with those that creditted her. It is not vnuknowne what ciuile calamities in the Realme of Fraunce, both amongst the royll brethren and princes thereof, happened vpon participation in the great Counsels of that State with the late Queene mother *Caterina di Medici*, daughter to the Duke of Florence : and it cannot but be fresh in their remembrance through Christendome by them of this late age ; because no Commonwealth, but hath in some one or other thing suffered extremities, when this *Car. (as a President to both the Counsels of Fraunce) steered the helme of that Commonwealth, which shee misguided after her owne lust and pleasure.* K

*Ioh. Tilius in  
Com. de Reb. gall.*

Vpon diuers considerations by that law *Salique* (which king *Pharamonde* made in his owne patrimonie neere Xantoigne, called *Salique*, whereupon that denomination first was) women were exempted from many priuiledges.  
ges.

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**A** ges. And *Gagninus* noteth of king *Lewis* the eleuenth of Fraunce, which in *Lib. 10.* his last Testament at his death amongst other things entreated his sonne the good king *Charles* to commit no councell of trust vnto his mother *Charlotta* the Duke of Sauoies daughter, which scarcely did liue one whole yeare dowager after her husband : peraduenture he doubtfully fantasied, that she had vniustly or wickedly dealt with him in his estate or life. But I will not insist herein, submitting my selfe to them which are the fathers of wisedome and experience, and can discreetly tell how with honour and constancie to bridle their affections in such cases ; hauing by good example of others more power in this vertue to performe, than the most wise & valiant of mortall men, king

**B** *Salomon* and *Sampson* had before, whose prudence and fortitude were scandalized and subuerted by women. Howbeit, I doe not here intend from all sorts of women, and in anie weightie causes of consequence to make a question of foeminine insufficiencie ; because in other greater causes of right and government (according to the auctient lawes, priuiledges, and customes of diuers Realmes and Countries) there is great reason why they should retaine their immunitiess : as *Plutarch* writeth was sometimes in Fraunce : *Cum Celsa- In tractas, de rum mulieres Consilijs publicis interfuerint, in quibus de pace & bello tractabantur : mulier, &c.* At what time the French women were alwaies present at their publique Counsels ; in all matters ciuill and militarie. For hee saith in the said Treatise,

**C** how such articles of confederacie were betwixt the Gaules and *Hannibal*, that the Carthaginian Magistrates should order all wrongs done vnto them by the Celtes ; and that the Celtique women answerably, such wrongs as was done vnto the Gaules by the Carthaginians. Which auncient custome being odious to diuers princes of that Realme in posteritie, might peraduenture haue giuen cause vnto king *Pharomonde* of his law. But sure it is, that many women haue worthely gouerned heretofore in diuers places : And diuerse every learned and politicke women, such as *Aphasia*, whom *Pericles* loued, and with whom *Socrates* did often consult. Howbeit if Counsels of the state in these our dayes should be referred vnto them. I thinke neither the time nor date of their continence and experience would permit the same againe in Fraunce.

**D** But that I may conclude vpon this point of secrecie : for by that peculiaritie Counsellors ought to be chosen and cherished. It is written in *Diodorus Si- Biblioth. Histor. culus*, how the Egyptians did ordaine, That hee which opened the secrets of *cap. 3, lib. 2.* that Commonwealth to his trust committed, should haue his tongue rooted out. Those sixtie learned Areopagites of Athens did carefully prouide against this crime also. Moreouer, it is instituted by the ciuile lawes, that they which diuulge secret Counsels of the publicke state, shall bee burnt at a stake, *Transfuge, si. 3, lib. 2.* or hanged vpon a gibbet.

It is required in persons of so worthy place and nobilitie, that to this faith-  
**E** fulnesse they superadde fortitude and honest constancie towards the defence and maintenance of justice and truth both in giuing, receiuing, and in concealing of Counsell, as is warned by the example of *Sardanapalus*, the thirtieth and last Monarch of the Assyrians ; who through his sensualitie, pusillanimitic, lacke of grace, and of true fortitude, was within his huge citie Ninivie

*Arbaces*, capitaine of the Medians : through whose power, and in feare of the Oracle, which was fulfilled in suddaine falling downe of a large peece of the cities wals (that made passage for the Medians, and strooke him with such a present terror) he thus feebly consulted and resolued with himselfe, vpon a flaming pyre, destined to that end, together with his concubines, eunuchs, and treasure, to cast himselfe, leauing all the spoyles and reliques with that Monarchie to the Medians. In the Prince therfore principally fortitude is required, and next in his secret Counsellors, whose vertues should animate him.

*Diiodori Siculi Lib. 2. Bib. Hist.* There is one most excellent note of true fortitude, remaining vnto such honourable Counsellors, by the example of *Scauola*, viuely manifesting a valiant heart, fortified with a iust and vnstained conscience : hee, when *Sylla* with multitudes of men in armes had entred the Senate, implacably thirsting after the destruction of *Marius*, whom hee would haue had by the Senatours then present, denounced a common enemie to the state : onely *Scauola* refuseth to giue voice against him, euen when *Sylla* with most truculencie threatened him to the contrarie, saying : Albeit thou darest mee with these heapes of souldiours, with which thou distressest this honourable presence, although thou breath forth death against me, yet will not I condiscend (in loue of my blood, which is both aged and little) to denounce *Marius* our enemy, through whose valour and honestie my conscience attesteth, how the citie Rome, and all Italie, was preserued. In such cases therefore, Counsellors truly valiant feare onely the wrath of God threatening iniquitie, least as *S. Augustine* wri-  
*Epist. ad Casu. 86.* *theth, Through feare or affection in concealing the veritie, they seeme more to respect the creature than the creator.*

*Prou. 24.* Vnto this faith and fortitude there are opposites, to which diuers in their deliberations and resolutions are vehemently subiect, viz. feare, being a certayne pensiue heauiness for some mischiefe future or remore ; and affection, which is a partiall respect of certaine persons beyond the lysts of reason. Such people therefore are not deemed wise and prudent, which feare more than is fit, considering that indissoluble accord which is betwixt Prudence and Fortitude, according to that wise Proverbe of king *Salomon*, *A wise man is valiant, and a learned man strong*. Notwithstanding the weake opinions of diuers which haue argued in my hearing, That wise men cannot be valorous, for so much as they summe vp with the counters of reason in the audit of prudence, all chaunces and perils which may come in, by circumstances and deriviations of matters : According to that of *Salust* concerning *Iugurith* ; *Quod difficultum imprimis est, & pralio strenuus erat & bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex prouidentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem plerunque affere solent* : And that which was most difficult, his stoutnesse in warre, and his soothfastnesse in Counsell exceeded : the last of which commonly (by reason of that prouidence, which forecasteth perils) doth inflict feare ; the first through exceeding boldnesse breedeth temeritie. A rare position : as if there had scarcely beene any meane betwixt cowardise and temeritie. Actions both glorious and profitable may not be let slip through feare of vncertaine perils : yet if

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A if we stand betwixt two dangers, let vs with firme valour aduenture vpon that which may best emblazon our honour, bearing with it true tokenis of our true heroicall vertues and spirits. We know by good experience, that a timorous Counsellor is by desperation (*being a fearefull and horrible dejection or consternation of a mind base and abiect*) conuerted into rash courses ; euen as rash men are by their temeritie . Furthermore, it is common in the nature of things chiefly to feare dangers most imminent, being more appalled at present perils than is requisite ; but valuing mischifes future and remote more carelesly than they should : because hopes by times or chaunces may promise some redresse for them. But this is both sure and notable : *Vbi bonum publis* Salust. de Rep. ord. ad Ca. Ces.

B *cum usui est, id dubitare aggredi socordia atque ignorantia est* : It is the part of a slothfull coward, when a man shall feare to attempt any thing which may benefit the Commonwealth. A prudent Senatour therefore equally respecteth head and foot : for after long consultation and leisure had in expence of time, he cannot without great shame and difficultie recall matters which haue beene curiously sifted before : as it was spoken of *Bomilchar* : *Qui cupi- Bell. Iugurthi.* *dus incepit parandi, & timore socij anxius omisso veteri Consilio nouum querere noluit* : Who being earnest to perfect his beginnings, and standing in doubt of his faint hearted fellow, would not alter his owne first determination for any second resolution . In blauching these dishonourable blemishes of

C feare and affection, the Counsellor giueth a cleere light and perfect view of his loue and worship vnto the Prince and Commonwealth . It is worthely noted by some, that amongst the Athenians, immediately before their consultations, a cryer did by proclamation denounce a shamefull death and confusion to him and all his posteritie , that should minister corrupt or vngrauous counsell to the Commonwealth for his owne priuate weale or securtie. O most perfect, sacred, and eternall Senate, which doth at the Counsell chambers dore leaue behind all partiall hatred against aduersaries, grace towards friends, arrogancie, priuate passion, with obstinacie : which the emperour *Fredericke* caused to be curiously written with golden letters ouer the Duro di Pascole Antic. Polit.

D ports of his palace at Ratisbone, That such as were thither appealed to consultation, should leaue without those gates all dissimulation and hypocrisie: The Venetians likewise, before they came to deliberate vpon any weightie matters in the State-chamber, first purifie their consciences at *Saint Markes*, where they leaue all priuate affections and peculiarities behind : for the foundation of perpetuall fame and glorie composed is of probitie, faith, and seuerie equalitie ; without all which it out-rangeth the purlies of prudence, being meere vanitie, false-hood, and a kind of wilie iuggling. The part of a Senatour therefore is vprightly to discharge a good conscience : and hee that restraineth truth in feare of any mans hatred, deserueth nothis place in

E this Counsell. Which *Seneca* to this effect approoueth : *He that feareth maleice, cannot any skill of government*. A notable example remaineth of *Priscus* Cor. Tac. Annal. *Helydius* : *Qui sola bona qua honesta, mala qua turpia, Potentiam, Nobilitatem, Lib. 20.* *cateraque extra animum neque bonis neque malis annumerauit* : Who did esteem only those things good and euill which were honest, and filthy,

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power, nobilitie, with such other things as were corporall, hee did only deeme F to bee the robes of good and euill. Such was his equabilitie, such his contempt of riches, such his stout constancie, when justice did importune, and his vndaunted perseuerance against all feares, as was admirable and matchlesse. For being by *Vespasian* interdicted the Senate, he answered, That it rested in him, being Emperour, to remoue him out of his place in counsell; yet vntill hee were formally thrust out, hee found it lawfull for him to sit in that societie: yea, said *Vespasian*, but be silent then. Nay, then I must speake, replied *Priscus*, if you prohibite it. To which the Emperour reioyned, I must aske sentences and thine opinion amongst the rest, but it shall cost thee thy life, if thou make answere: yet *Helnydius* to this peremptorily surreiogned: *I am a mortall man, Emperour doe thy will: I shall performe my dutie, doubt it not: It is in thy power to take away my life, and my parts to die without feare.* A Counsellor of such valour, faith, and constancie may worthily sit in iudgement with highest Emperours: and desperate is that prince his hope which contemneth sharpe counsell, being most healthfull and profitable in effect, though it import some present trouble: for they that feare to deale plainly with their princes, preferre their owne shame and sluggishnesse before honour, if grieve and vexation of mind accompanie the same: and marke it, that the liues of such, commonly conclude in perdition and obloquie. Now to remedie Counsellors which are timorous and doubtfull in their determinations and resolutions: first, let it be considered, that all humane actions are subiect to many perils, but wise men ought to know, that all mischiefs which may come, doe not happen generally: whereas very many vanish by the benefit of fortune, and multitudes also by prouidence & industrie: for by considering, foreseeing, and weighing many matters, men become very warie. H

The generall good qualities, which like so many precious stones, as vpon the breast-plate of *Aaron*, magnifie the thoughts and hearts of a noble Counsellor, are in briefe; to be couetous of commendation, and liberall of coyne: *Animum habere paratum ad maximum & palcherrimum facinus aggrediendum; non super fortunam animum gerere; neque per ambitionem simulare probitatem, quia difficile est illis in potestatis aibus temperare:* To beare a mind prepared to enterprise any great and laudable attempt; to fashion and temper his mind with his fortunes equally; neither avariciously to counterfeit himselfe honest: because it is most difficult, that such persons should beare any good temper in their authoritie. These be the men which worthily spend the vertues and good faculties of their life in rule and magistracie, which liue in the sight of many. These are they whose actions are recorded in mens hearts, and though Histories should faile, would remaine by tradition in the memorials of posterite. If therefore they be noble by birth, let them beare their estates without pride: if they sit vpon the seate of magistracie, let them maintaine their reputation without insolence, contempt, or envie of persons inferiours, equals, or superiours. If they be verely religious, and spiritually lightened with the knowledge, feare and worship of God, let them set their I K hearts

A hearts free from superstition : if their learning purchase for them reuerence, let them humble themselves the more, abhorring arrogancie : if they present the person of grauitie, let them perforne the same with all decencie, void of hypocrisie. In their studies and contemplations let them declare fes-  
tivitie : let them be constant in good resolutions without repining and bitt-  
ternesse : let them likewise shew good affabilitie to the people, without any  
smoke of popularitie : for when they shall consider, how *the greatest fortunes  
hauē least liberie, they will avoid all appearance of euill, concealing it from the  
vulgar.* I meane in speciall those vices of pride and perturbation ; as malice,  
hatred, and apparent anger ; which are in meane men though a little noted,

B yet not long remembred, but in persons of their ranke and authoritie miscon-  
trued, and perillously pointed at ; yea, and engrauen with a penne of steele by  
the names of Pride and Crueltie.

There are besides all these, diuerse other notable qualities, many of which are included in this breuiat, and required to the complete force of a Coun-  
sellor. First, and aboue all other ornaments, his wastcoat and secret armour  
pribuate to the soule, from whence all his vertues flourish, and his robe of sin-  
cere honour in highest counsels and iudgements, must bee made of zealous  
holinesse, which is the most venerable defence of such a reuerend Counsel-  
lour. He must therefore bee studious of Theologie : for where impietie ba-

C nisheth all feare, and feeling of sinne ; and for as much as all Counsels of the wicked are fraudulent, it must necessarily follow, that through them the con-  
tempt of true religion (being the soule of euery well instituted State) force-  
ably dependeth, dragging violently with it the Commonwealths subuersion.  
This diuine knowledge illuminateth his reason and vnderstanding, adding  
quicknesse and courage to discerne and punish persons that freefe, draw  
backe, or stagger in causes of religion ; either by their contempt of the deitie,  
or in ignorance of Gods true worship. This ensigneth the readiest and best  
course, which he should obserue in extirpation of contagious schismes and  
pestilent sects : and how to continue with stedfast and often prayer in faith

D towards God for the true sapience of his holy spirit ; which is reuealed in a *1. Corinb. cap. 2.*  
mysterie, being a concealed wisedome, and determined by God before the  
world for our glorification. This wisedome springeth from the root of Gods *1ob. cap. 28.*  
feare, which giueth vs vnderstanding to depart from euill ; which maketh a  
cheerefull heart, yeeldeth a ioyfull crowne, and prolongeth mans life in glad-  
nesse. It is a sacred knowledge, yea, the ineffable perfection of all goodnesse :  
Onely fooles despise wisedome and instrucion, presuming in weightie cau-  
ses and consultations to succeed well without that sacred spirit of heauenly  
wisedome, which should direct them. But such as are wise feare that vnspeak-  
able power filially ; which is with a kind of heart-longing loue : and vnto

E such alone and assuredly hath his diuine omnipotencie prepared that, which  
neither eye, eare, nor heart hath seene, heard, or certainly conceiued ; re-  
vealing vnto them those arcane and sacred mysteries by the spirit of holinesse,  
which openeth the secret treasures of God. All true light, which moueth  
and inciteth admiration and loue, shineth from the contemplatiue throne of  
*Eccl. 1. 1.*

cleere

cleere sanctitie, and it is full of the power of loue and mercie : which loue of F God, *Salomon* calleth honourable wisedome ; it beeing accompanied with feare and reverence : which is of it selfe a sacred knowledge, by vertue thereof is mans heart iustified : honour and long life are the bratinches of it, fastened in the sacred root of wisedome by faith, which vanquisheth sinne and death, faith and meekenesse attending it. This heauenly loue illuminateth, and almost transubstantiateth our hearts of flesch by the power of God, which our Sauiour Christ (speaking to the woman of Samaria) calleth a spirit, saying, That such as worship God, must doe the same in spirit and truth. They therefore will learne, tast, and loue that sacred word and knowledge, which is the pure fountaine of true wisedome, the sweetnesse of which (alas) I neither G can vtter nor conceiue. After this knowledge of God, with the sincere loue of true religion, there is another kind of pietie, most excellently commendable in a Counsellor ; which is, in suffering punishments chearefully for the exact obseruation of his late deceased Soueraignes constitutions, as also principally for the confession of his faith, that neither superiorities, honours, or any carnall and earthly respects, feares, punishments, or martyrdomes may take him from the reverence and most sweet loue of God, which remaineth with him in Iesu Christ.

The next care immediate after the knowledge of God, consisteth in his skill of gouernment and studie to maintaine the Commonweale : which weale H doth not onely comprehend the generall good, but the benefit and safegard of all priuate persons therein. These so combine and loue like turtles, that one cannot liue without fellowship of another. In which his studious and inseparable loue of the Commonwealth he must sequester so farre his owne priuate profit and authoritie, that he be found at all times readie to bestow his honour, substance, and life in maintenance thereof : so should hee therefore respect the state and affaires of his countrey, by the prince referred to him, as *Cicerio* sayth, *Ut utilitas sua communis utilitas sit: vicissim & aequa communis utilitas sua sit* : That his priuate weale may proue the common weale, and that correspondently the Commonweale may become his proper weale. Which I is a principle deriuued from the needfull precepts of nature. This is a vertue by *Plato* most commended in a Counsellor : for to this day no state hath either beene amplified or conserued, but by men of that qualitie, euen as it was said by *Salust* to *Cesar* : *Firmando Republica non armis modo sed (quod multo magis, multoque aperius est) bonis pacis artibus*. The Commonwealth must not onely be munited and fortified with armes, but with good cunning and skilfull arts to make and maintaine peace, being a mysterie of much more force and difficultie. It is written of *Callicratides*, a captaine of the Lacedemonians, that (in their warres at *Peloponnesus*, when hee without any losse to himselfe might haue saued the whole Nauie, and declined the warre, then instant against the

*Athenians*) he refused to doe so ; saying, That the *Lacedemonians* after the losse of that fleet might furnish out another, but that hee could not without grievious inuision of shame and dishonour turne backe from them. Whereupon that whole nauie, to the irrecouerable losse of the *Lacedemonians*, became a spoyle K

*In Orat. ad C. Cef. de Rep. Ord.*

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A spoyle to their enemies. But *Qu. Fabius* the Romane Generall held a contrarie course and opinion in his seruice, enduring the scoffes and contemptuous brags of his foes, which scornefully called him a delayor, till such time as (when good occasion and aduantage was offered) he so confounded *Anni-ball*, then triumphing in his many victories, that he wrought out his countries libertie, with oppresion of the *Carthaginians* by those meanes. *Calicratides* (hauing lost the day) lost likewise his countrey, life, and honour, beeing for the reward of his follie named in their Annales *Calicratides Temerarius*. *Fabius* who by cunctation had giuen life and honour to his countrey, was for his actions of valour, and in perpetuall glorie thereof canonized in their immortal Hystories by the title of *Maximus*. And hereupon this as a certaine note and rule may be grounded, that all hypocrites, couerous, and vaine glorious persons (such as doe with *Calicratides* more prize their priuat glory than the publicke weale) are enemies to the generall state; and such vndoubtedly (like flatterers) if time should so serue, would not sticke (to the end they might endanger the Prince thereby) to say, That all the peoples wealth is his. By which example we viuely find represented vnto vs the warie circumspection of a good Commonwealths man in the person of *Fabius*, studying the preseruation and honour of himselfe and of his countrey, together with the rash and foolish negligence of a vaine-glorious hypocrite, like *Calicratides*; which

C so sleightly valued the conseruation and weale of his owne Nation. In this loue and care of the Commonwealth is required a due consideration, how the whole politike societie consisteth of soule and bodie; the soule (as is aforesaid) for religion, in aduancing and maintaining the true worship of God; the bodie taken for the dwelling or place of habitation. There is likewise besides that soule and bodie the spirit of liuing, which is the mouing and stirring of the bodie: this may bee properly called or compared rather to the forme of euery Commonwealth, as in knowing whether it be a Monarchie, as great *Brittaine*, *Fraunce*, *Ireland*, *Spaine*, *Castile*, and *Portugall*: or as the Empires of the *Turkes* and *Moscouites*, but more remote: or if an Aristocracie, like *Venice*;

D wherein are fourre Counsels, besides the Senate and gentlemen of that state. The first called *Consilio de Sanis*, which prudently deliberate and deale in all the land causes: the second in like sort called *Consilio de Sanis*, appertaining the Admiraltie: *Consilio de deci*, & *Consilio de fersis*. Vpon which last seuen, the whole burthen of that Commonwealth and of the Seigniorics thereof is amply reposed. Like vnto which, sometimes we reade how the state of *Spar-ta* was: or if a Democracie, like the present state of *Switzerland*: or if the gouernment thereof be referred to the King, and to his Nobles, as now in *Denmarke*, and in other ages at *Rome*, when the kings raigned, vntill the *Tar-quines*: or to the King and to his Commons, as in *Perse*: or to the Nobles

E and people together, as at *Rome* after their Kings were cried downe; at *Athens* once, and at this day in *Florence*, *Siene*, with other free states of *Italie*: or to the King, with his nobles and people respectiue; as is common in *Germany*, *Poleland*, *Arragon*. When he hath entred into such knowledge, then is it fit that he consider by the diseases, and by the causes procuring them, which forme

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forme is good, and which bad : for if this life ( which I tearme to bee F  
the forme of gouernment) bee sicke, or diseased, it is required, that the  
Counsellor should play the part of a wise Physition, by purgations, diets,  
vomites, bloud-lettings, or other remedies, to medicinie and rectifie the  
state of that bodie, where such policie laboureth. After such notes let him  
measure by what feuerall formes these or any such principalities were con-  
serued and lost ; by what lawes and magistrates they were and must bee  
succoured in troublesome times. If hee bee wanting herein, how shall hee  
glie aduice vnto the Prince or State in any troublesome or difficult sea-  
sons, towards the cure of any desperate diseases or wounds happening vnto  
the Common-wealth ? Or without this knowledge, how shall hee di-  
rect him in his behauour towards friends, confederates, enemies, or o-  
thers, for their benefite, or annoyance ? Hee should in like case haue per-  
fect knowledge in the plots, heads, and grounds of all sedicions and trou-  
bles, with the wayes to supprese them ; whether the Prince his force bee  
knit vp in bagges, or locked vp in the peoples hearts : what and how ma-  
ny wayes may bee found with honest colour to breake peace against him  
that neuer gaue occasion thereof : whether it bee more meete, that Prin-  
ces encounter their enemies without their owne territories, or expec<sup>t</sup> them  
in campe at home . All which is taught by the iudicious reading of Hy-  
stories. H

In this my Counsellor, I would require much readinesse, and quicknesse of wit: for moderate sharpenesse and dexteritie compose the heads, bodies, and feet of all good actions. That light therefore, which beautifieth euerie noble and excellent wit, must be diuine, singular, and vnusuall. Howbeit, a politicall wit, (if I may so tearinge it) *Quasi naturum ad congregacionem & societatem*: As instituted to congregate, and advne people: as *Freigius* defineth the same, most excellently magnifieth a Counsellor: for thereby doth hee referre all things vnto the common societie, to the coniunction, vnion, or collection of people, and companies; reforming and wisely preuenting all ciuile and dangerous distractions and diuisions amongst the multitude. This is that wit which euerie gentleman (that purposeth to trauaile into forraigne countries) ought to be possessed of, and without it, *Celum non animam mutat*: He changeth his nation, and not his condition: Because it teacheth him the formes, constitutions, augmentations, diminutions, mutations, lawes, religions, rites, and iudgements of those nations, where he soiourneth. It is the true guide and sweet companion of iourneys and peregrination, according to the saying of *Socrates* in *Xenophon*: *Generosum est & omni fauore dignum ingenium, cui sunt cordis disciplina politica*: That wit is generous, and deserueth all fauour, which taketh delight in politicall discipline. The apparent tokens & properties of such a wit are, when in answering they seeme prompt, sound, & short, in apprehension, quicke, judicious, & attentiuie; in teaching, methodicall, and luculent; in easeling, pleasant and circumspect; in serious matters, diligent & warie: likewise in the whole course of his owne nature so carefull, as he may make effectuall tokens appear of his great loue & respect of vertue. Moreouer, a noble

**A** wit neuer walketh in wayes vulgarly frequented, neuer speaketh after the vulgar fashion, neuer is mercinarie, neuer abruptly breaketh off a period; but doth all things with exceeding decencie. No man which is verely worshied in regard of his wit, that taketh any delight in base and common matters, sayth *Seneca*: *Et magna quæ sunt ingenia agè ferant iniuriam*: Migh-  
*Epist. 39. lib. 5.*  
tie wits cannot easily brooke iniuries: according to *Salust*. Other garbes *In bell. Jugurth.*  
and attributes are likewise obserued in these wits: as in the entertainement, which proceedeth from such ingenuous persons, being performed with a liberall and most cheerefull courtesie, and sweetly seasoned with a gracious and plausible discourse. Such a wit turneth and looketh into good and euill, embrasing and extolling the one, rebuking and eschewing the other by good discretion, not fearing malice, or offence. All actions flourishing out of it are chcerfull, and perfected with a commendable spirit, working alwayes in meditation, contemplation, comprehension, and (as it were) a palpitation of all things, exercised in much reading, conference, and societie, with people of all conditions and humors, busied in knowledge of matters past, present, and to come, studying to be generally wel skilled in all laudable arts, neuer slouthfull, neuer wearie, triumphing in many labours, vexations, and troubles: *Quippe secunda res sapientum animos fatigunt*. Such a wit should seeme was in *Scipio Africanus*, whose busynesse seemed most great, when his action was least: *Nec c. in Amicis.*

**C** *unquam minus solus fuit quam cum solus esset. Prudensissimus etenim quisque maximè negotiosus est*: Neither was he euer lesse at leisure, than when he was alone in priuat. For every man which is most prudent, is least at leisure. And hence is this in *Salust*: *Non enim votis nec supplicijs mulieribus, auxilia deorum comparantur, sed vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prosperè omnia cedunt*. For God doth not send his succours to men onely because they doe with a broken spirit obserue strict vowedes, and make prayers: but hee doth admit a generall good successe to them that are vigilant, industrious, and verely prudent. Such wits sweetly flourish in youth, and plentifully fructifie, resembling (as *Plato* compareth it) a fruitfull meddow. They bee the grounds of all knowledge,

**D** being studiously tilled and manured with liberall arts and morall philolophie: for as great burthens (which cannot be lifted by the strength of many men vnited) will bee with one engine easily moued and turned; so wit will sometimes effect, which other helpest cannot. I doe not meane in this place of subtile and fierie wits, which are more fit for innouation, than administration of matters, prone vnto rebellious and sedicious factious, which *Salust* luculently describeth in the person of *Cariline*. *In illo vis eximia facetiarum, & ratio quadam adumbrata virtutum, facilis ad comprehendendum omnium hominum familiaritates*: His force in pleasant and wittie ieasting did exceede, with a certaine kind of reasonable counterfeite, and adumbration of vertues; being prone to comprehend, and au-capute the familiarities of all degrees of persons. This is a liuely resemblance and portraiture of a stirring hote wit, bewitching men with the shaddowes of vertue. These are wits of that eager temper and fiercenesse which will easily breake; and beeing in any great authoritie, oppresse them.

In Troade.

Lib. 39.

themselues with their owne weight, retaining no meane, nor moderation : of whom that sentence in *Seneca* may be sayd : *Graue pondus illum magna nobilitas premit*: Great Nobilitie, beeing a grieuous burthen, did oppresse him. Howbeit, such a wit as magnified *Marcus Cato* may be commended vndoubtedly, whom *Linie* describeth fit for any businesse which hee would vnder-take in these words : *His knowledge was absolute both in urbanitie and husbandrie. Some haue attained place on the seate of honour by their learning in the lawes, others by the gift of eloquence : some by the glorie rebounding from their many victories, and martiall trophies. But his wit was so pliant vnto all properties at his pleasure, that men would say, Nature without industrie did institute him ; hee did all things with that facilitie : in warre most valians, in many battels victori- ous, and then by degrees aduaunced, was a most renowned Emperour. In time of peace (if it stood upon cases of right and equitie) his knowledge exceeded : in de- claming or pleading of a cause, passing eloquent*. Which patterne of noble *Cato*, representeth vnto vs (as in a true Myrrour) the very life of a diuine wit.

From this sweet fountaine honourably floweth the purple streme of eloquence ; which is none of a Counsellors meane graces : for in this Office hee shall happily be commended by the prince into forraine countries, either to counsell, dissuade, accuse, defend, commend, disgrace, congratulate, condole, or to such purpose. It behoueth him therefore to be richly furnished with that qualitie, which is the Loade-stone of all stubborne and steeled affecti- ons ; not onely to reuive or refresh dead or dull spirits, (which are with intollerable perturbations and continuall torture of passions vehemently distra- cted, and left almost fenseleſſe) but if it were possible, with a liuely spirit and diuine alacritie to lend eſſence from his owne ſoule in ſpeaking ; which might miraculously lift the dead to life, with ſuch admirable and astounding force of persuasion, as might both examine and reclaime from traunces those ſore bruifed affecti- ons, which hee with the thunder of his eloquence hath deie- cted. In all ſedicious and tumults amongst mutinous ſouldiōrs, in all com- motions and turbulent factiōns amongst ciuile ſocietieſ (when they gather head, to the fearefull disturbance and wounding of the Commonwealth, for quenching of their inordinate thirſt after blood, and vnsatiablie reuenge) no- thing is ſo gracious as the balmie tongue of an eloquent and stirring Oratour : who like an Euangelift, with a golden pace, and tongue ouer-flowing with persuasion, holdeth in his hand the Olie of peace, coniuring their troubled and tumultuous ſpirits with force of that moſt ſacred and omnipotent ſpirit of tranquilitie, direc- ting his ſoule, and holding the reynes of his calme affe- ctiōns with the bridle of his tongue ; which like the ſnakie ſcepter of *Hermes*, hath power to calme the ſeas, quiet the winds, and pacifie the rebellious earth, when it is moſt out of order. So that in the *Ciceronian* inuectiue againſt *Salust* (magnifying this golden gift of eloquence, which was imputed to *Tully* for a vice) it is written : *An illum exiſtias ciuem egregium qui non hīs artibus in ſaſiūm. Ea & disciplinis ſit eruditus? An villa alia rudimenta & incunabula virtutis quibus demum magna animi ad glorie cupiditatem aluntur?* What ? art thou persuaded, that any

*Putant quidem ſaſi Ciceronem Salust* (magnifying this golden gift of eloquence, which was imputed to *Tully* for a vice) it is written : *An illum exiſtias ciuem egregium qui non hīs artibus in ſaſiūm. Ea & disciplinis ſit eruditus? An villa alia rudimenta & incunabula virtutis quibus demum magna animi ad glorie cupiditatem aluntur?* What ? art thou persuaded, that any Stateſ-man

**A** Statef-man can be renowned, vnlesse he be disciplined in these arts, and rudiments of Rhetoricke? Or canst thou find any better Accidencies or Primer rules of vertue, whereby mens minds are fostered and encouraged in the desire and loue of glorie? For this is that admirable facultie, which protecteth our friends, succoureth strangers, relieueth the distrested, and terrifieth malicious people. Hence is it, that in admiration thereof *Tacitus* writeth : *Eloquentia nihil in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosa, vel ad dignitatem am- Cor. Tac. in Dia- plius, vel ad urbis famam pulcherius, vel ad totius imperij arque omnium gentium log de Orat.* *noriciam illustrius excogitari potest*: There is not any thing can bee found or deuised in our Commonwealth, either more fruitfull, if you respect the pro- fite, or more ample, in regard of the dignitie thereof, or more extending to the cities good fame, or more magnificent and glorious, to disperse and em- blazon the greatnessse of the whole Empire, and of all Nations, than the gift of eloquence. No Commonwealth, which hath not to her great and excee- ding comfort tasted the diuine banquet of eloquence, when with graue and argute answeres the demaunds of forraine princes (by their embassadours in viue Oration, or by life of letters) were satisfied. This one principall qualitie in a Counsellor the prince shoulde haue a desire to know, by conserning with him one hour or more in priuat (when leisure permitteth) with what grace, spirit, and perfection, he can expresse the fense of his mind: how he shor- neth and continueth his periods in Oration: his forme in the proposition, di- vision, amplification, and conclusion of his speech; his grace, order, and pro- perte when he speaketh: obseuing moreouer, if in his discourse or speech hee bee sententious, not fauouring of the schoole, but plausible, short, and sweet: and if a Prince would haue some readier assurance of his abilitie or dexteritie, vnder the pretence, that hee must forthwith write certaine letters gratulatorie, lamentatorie, or such like, done in his presence; the Prince may take a good and readie tast of his sufficiencie. Hee therefore, which can dis- course vpon, and answere vnto, with readinesse, any propositions or questiones luculently and gallantly; and he that can with exccllent moderation accom- modate his saying, to the substance and worthinesse of that subiect from whence the fresh riuier of his Oration runneth: and hee likewise that can plausibly bind vp the garland of his speech to the present benefite of time, and to the comfort of his Auditorie, may worthely be called a good Orator. *Hys namque artibus sive apud infestos, sive apud cupidos, sive apud inuidentes, sive apud tristes, sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit habens animorum : Cor. Tac. in Dia- log. de Orat.*

**B** For by this art of Rhetoricke, an Oratour ( if he shall deale with daungerous persons, or with men couetous, with eniuious people, with such as are affli- fted, or with any persons which are distracted through some kind of feare) yet shall he preuaile in qualifying and moderating their severall affections and

**C** passions. For he which can speake copiously with prudence, is much more excellenter than those which meditate vpon graue and wise considerations, without eloquence: because cogitation conuerseth in it selfe, and eloquence is beneficall towards all which heare it: for when a man enamelleth a wise speech with copiousnesse, the people will confirme their opinions and coun-

Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Off. 2.

In Dialog. de  
Orat.

sels in his sapience : if therewithall hee season the same (as it were) with a F pleasant modestie, infused into constant grauitie. There be foure kinds of eloquent speaking and writing, according to *Macrobius* : *Copiosum in quo Cicero, breve in quo Salustius : siccum quod Fronto, pingue & floridum quod Plinius secundo, &c.* The copious wherein *Cicero*, the briefe in which *Salust*, the drie, through which *Fronto*, the full and fruitfull for which *Plinius* the second were famoued. Any of which beeing ingenuously practised, without affection or sophistrie, carrie with them great force of reconciliation. Much eloquence is found in those letters which king *Philip* of Macedon did write to his sonne *Alexander*, and in those Epistles which *Antipater* and *Antigonus* did write vnto Captaines, persuading them by benigne and fauorable tearmes G to mooue the peoples hearts, and to cherish or toll on the souldiors to seruice with the Metaphysicall oyle and balme of their eloquence and persuasione, but to deliuer those attributes of Oratorie (with a kind of feruencie, zeale, and affection in all causes of weight and passion) is of great auaille and force, which *Cicero* specially noteth : *Oratio qua in multitudinem cum contentione habetur saepe uniuersam excitat gloriam* : Those Orations or speeches, which in audience of the people are deliuered with a vehement and stirring spirit, commonly mooue or procure a generall glorie : beeing intended here vnto the speakers, proceeding from the auditorie. Obseruing alwayes that Philosophicall decencie which prohibiteth him. *Tanquam luculentum suem cum quouis voluntari : non enim procacitate lingue vita & sordeles eluuntur* : Like a durtie sow which walloweth in any puddle : for the dishonest touches of a mans conuersation are not washed out with fawcie taunts or speeches. Such like was that luxurious kind of procacitie, for which *Salust* and *Cicero* were both grievously taxed in their verball eskarmouches, together misbeleeuing the prudent tongues of grauitie. And therefore *Tacitus* specially well describeth that excesse of eloquence thus : *Eloquentia luxuriosa, alumnna licentia, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, siue obsequio, siue seruiture, consumax, tomeraria, arrogans ; queque in bene constitutis ciuitatibus non oritur, &c.* Luxurious eloquence is the nurce of licence ; the companion of seditions, the spurre which pricketh forth vntruly people, not acknowledging either seruice or dutie : it is stubborne, rash, arrogant, and neuer bred or nourished in any well ordered cities. These obseruations are required in a perfect Counsellor, and yet wholly depending vpon his excellent wit : which I last before touched, seruing as a precious elixar of life, and metall for many strange purposes. And by these notes and qualities of Oratorie, (if any viue ember, or spiracle of ingenuous facilitie remaine in men) it shall appeare conspicuously.

The well speaking of many languages may bee musterred amongst the rest for one speciall and most needfull qualitie : in speciall, the tongues of those kingdomes, and prouinces which are either subiects contributaries or confederates to the prince, and also the languages of his enemies : as appeareth in the learnedest of our princes his Counsell at this day. For amongst them the K Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, French, Danish, Polish, and Dutch tongues are

**A** are well spoken and vnderstood. This is a comfortable benefit, when forraine people either with vs at home or abroad, are heartely glad to vnderstand, and to be vnderstood by those with whom they haue businesse, opening their own meanings better and more perspicuously by their owne mouth, than with helpe of an interpretor. Mutuall counsels likewise may by this knowledge be more safely debated, than by meanes of a third person interpreting: what more beneficall commendation, than to heare, vnderstand, and deliberate vpon peaceable and hostile legations. If they bee friends, it better confirmeth their amitie, when Counsellors consult or debate with them in their owne language; persuading themselues commonly, that it proceedeth from loue and good obseruation. Admit they be sometimes deceiued in that opinion; yet such a kind of frustration is availeable. And suppose them enemies which so conserue with you, by that occasion their benevolence is so much the sooner attained.

It must be noted also, that few men interprete perfectly, many more satisfying their owne humors, than the precise meaning of the parties, adding or subtracting somewhat alwayes. What if vnder pretext of interpretation a referendarie be foisted in, vpon whose secrecie the whole weale and honour of a king with all his Soueraignetie dependeth? Admit the matters so require, that no delayes without danger will serue to dispatch present answer **C** to the Prince: is it not then a double shame and offence, to make enquirie for such an interpretor as will deale faithfully? What if no fit man can bee found out of hand? Or if hee bee found, admit the one partie credit not his interpretation? All these are most dangerous difficulties, and therefore the knowledge of tongues is of speciaill force in a secret Counsellour; and also that he know the fashions and conditions of those people, whose language he speaketh: but for the prince chiefly necessarie, that his Counsellors can speake, write, and interprete in those tongues before him, rather than repose affiance in strangers: Which trust is commonly fallacious, and then vndoubtedly pernicious. The cause why, the Latine and Greeke lan-

**D** guages are so commonly studied and embrased in most parts of the world, is in regard of their many most learned booke and monuments of former time. The reason of their so many volumes and written works, is derived from their auncient and ample Monarchies, endowed formerly with so many precious spirits; which both for ciuile and militarie knowledge so much surpassed and exceeded. Their leagues, tributes, lawes, ciuile customes, their many battailes, victories, and triumphs: as those of *Alexander, Cesar*, and of others infinite, beeing speciaill attributes of their government, gaue infinite matter to noble wits in those Empires continually to write such excellent dignities and exploits, as their natvie countrey **E** men had borne away, with much honour and renowne, both in peace and warre. The Princes, Consuls, Dictators, and Emperors yeelding royll encouragement and most munificent salaries to those Writers, (for their owne glories sake, which by such their art and industrie were ennobled) did make infinite the numbers of booke, and Authors in all liberall faculties.

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The multitudes of those booke (through the greatnesse of these Monachies) were farre and neere dispersed. The learning of those volumes (after the dissolution of these Empires) hath beene euermore and againe thirsted and hunted after by the best and all well disposed Commonweales and Princes, which since that time were alwayes enlightened by them, yeelding a continuall patterne of perfect humane knowledge to posteritie. And in these later ages (since the time of our Sauiour Christ, of his Apostles, of their Disciples, and of those fathers, which succeeded them in the Primitiue Church, being through Greece and old Italie then dispersed) the very light of sweete Gospell hath beene by these means reserued vnto vs in those two languages: and therefore haue these tonges, (so needfull for the interpretation of the F Scriptures, the enucliation of verities, and confutation of heresies) still kept afoot the studies of them through the grace of God amongst vs to this day. The Hebrew tongue not so much in generall desire of schollers, seruing specially for the legall Scriptures and Prophets, I will pretermit, as also the Chaldean, Syrian, and Arabicke, peculiar to deepe Diuines and Doctors of the Church, *Thalmudistes, Alcumistes, and Caballistes*, surreaching the common apprehension and vse of Counsellors and States-men. Hereupon a question may bee projected vnto mee, Why then these Grecke and Latine languages might not serue (*in statu omnium*) to fulfill all meanings & purposes by good and faithfull understanding amongst princes and nations in their treaties, consultations, leagues, pactions, sessions, conuentions, accords, assemblies, or other priuate parlyes of like nature, being tonges so generally well knowne and studied in so many Realmes? My solution is replicatiuely, that they cannot passe currant amongst all forraigne princes and much remote Monarchies: for if that amplitude of the former Grecian and Romane dominions, occasioned a kind of vnsiforme, vse, or peculiaritie of those tonges, as being the true mother languages in all the Realmes, Provinces, and Seignories subiect to them: it doth then illatiuely follow by the like necessarie, that if our Christian Princes neere vs should send in very weightie causes men of perfection in those two languages, to the great Turke or Persian, it would bee very difficult and troublesome: for so much as their Monarchies extend much further than all Christendome doth beside. Wherefore I judge (by the same reason) that the language amongst them is for the most part either Persian or Turkish, and not knowne to any Christians, except to some few Christian merchants or slaues, which haue commerced with them. For since the beginning of those Mahemetane Monarchies of Turkes and Persians, our Christians haue alwayes held that people execrable and perfidious: so that their vulgar speech (by those Christians which inhabit the very skirts of Turkey vnder *Rodolph* the Emperour) is little or not at all practised in these dayes. Besides, what a shame it were concerning certaine honourable affaires and policies of the State in any Realmes and Common-weales to chuse some merchant or negotiator, which should discharge the Office of a most noble embassadour, and to deale in causes of highest consequence onely, because he can speake and vnderstand the Persian or Turkish tongues. Neither will that

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**A** that excellent Greeke tongue, which former writers haue vsed, and which is at this day so much practised amongst the Schollers in Christendome, serue therefore in those Pagan parts, in regard, that all or the greatest part of Greece is now subiect to the Turke, and in such respect sooner vnderstood: because that excellent refined Greeke (even as in old Italie the Latine) is wholly corrupt and altered, through the long and ruinous discontinuance of those two famous Monarchies. I conclude therefore, that it is not onely needfull for such as are Counsellors to mighty Kings and Princes, to be well skilled in the best languages of Christendome; but much behoefull in respect of the Turkes and Persians also: which thing though it may seeme amongst our

**B** countrey nobles rare and difficult, yet is *ramo preclarus, & viro verè nobilis dignus*. For the time may come in any Christian Empire, that some necessities, or other, shall require and importune the knowledge of those tongues.

One speciaall point remaineth, wherein I would for our owne nations glorie wish, that all our countreymen would be very studious, and according to their faculties forward and ayding, that is, to labour how they may copiouly deuise and adde words, derived from the Latines, from the French and Dutch languages, fitly fashioned vnto the true Dialect and Ideome of our vulgar.

*An Exhortation  
to make famous  
and precious our  
English Languaze  
amongst the parts  
of Christendome.*

**C** For considering that the Latine, French, Italian, Spanish, and Germane tongues grew famous, copious, and ample by the commerce and entercourse of marchants, and by the repaire of embassadours and other stranges, mutually passing and repassing too and from forraigne countries amongst vs; after that their monarchies and dominions were amplified, enriched, and magnified: what doubt is then left to vs, why this our English tongue (which in it selfe is so sweet and copious, wherein wee can so succinctly knit vp much matter) but that by continuance of this Monarchie, diuinely and happily strengthened by our sacred Soueraigne and his royll issue; the same may bee desired, taught, and sought for from all places, amongst our friends, neighbours, and confederates in Christendome hereafter, which may repaire and entercom-  
**D** mune to and with vs? The weakenesse of our former estate, and the youngnesse of our language established in the last deducted Normane Colonies, from the Conquest, and before, did not admit hitherto that perfection, which might haue in times past encouraged either the French or other potent Nations greatly to respect our tongue, vnlesse some of those marchants, which (in regard of the present necessarie put vpon them by the entercourse and exchange of their wares) were forceably driuen vnto it. This contempt and viletie therfore hath hitherto letted many singular wits of excellent hope and learning (wherewithall by the naturall temperature of that climat vnder which we liue, our nation is diuinely endowed) to write bookees in English: and the  
**E** neglect thereof I feare hath hurt vs in the glorie of that sweet Latine tongue also: for it was not vnowne to the learned of this nation, how little their language was and would be respected in other countries. But soone in suc-  
celle of time, from the later yeeres of king Edward the third (after whose

victories had in Fraunce) the peace and foyson of this land gaue some fust **P**. light to our language (notwithstanding that even then our law pleadings, i.e. cording vnto *Glanvyle* and *Braſton*, were first written in French) diuers did write some Bookes, Pamphlets, Rymes, Romances, and Stories in barbarous English; some of which were translated out of other tonges: Howbeit, eyther for their owne private vse and practise, or for the meere benefit of our countreymen onely, to little pleasure, and leſſe profit of after times: which being then as a garden; wherein were some good hearbes and simples of our owne, and from other parts and countries brought and confusedly planted, hath yeerly ſince then from time to time beene bettered, encreased, and reduced into ſquares, knots, and curioſe compartmentes, **G** diapred with pleasant flowers, and brought into comely fashion. The beſt of theſe which first began to reduce the conuerted garden of our language into ſome proportion, were the two laureate knights of their times, *Gower* and his Scholler *Chaucer*, in the times of King *Richard* the ſecond, and King *Henry* the fourth. One *Lydgate*, a Monke of *Edmonſburie*, ſucceeded them in that worke: moſt of whose patternes were taken and tranſlated out of Latine, French, and Italian, intermingled with ſome other excellent inuentiones of their owne, not including any great matters, tending vnto gouernment and moralitie. Diuerſe of whose words, by times continuall, and the choice of better being antiquated (like hearbes withered from the root) haue beene **H** ſeconded with richer inuentiones: according vnto that ſaying of the Poet *Horace*.

*In arte Poet.*

*Multa renascuntur que iam cecidere; Cadentque  
Que nunc ſunt in honore vocabula.*

Many words long time out of vſe renew,  
And th'after age our beſt words will eſchew.

For words (he ſayth) like leaues yeerly wither and renew. Towards this excellent worke, we find for our more helpe, that the Latine verbes ſweetely conſound with our English tongue: the French aptly doth offer it ſelue to poſh this workemanship; and the Italian doth in many things yeeld much helpe and dignitie to the ſame. The Germane, from whose old ſtocke our firſt Monafyllabicall roots by their old Colonies were inducted, is of it ſelue the garden plot, alreadie well tylled and copioufly manured, to bring forth this language. And ſince thoſe dayes of more diſſicult obſcuritie, the Latine Bible by diuers learned Bifhops, in the reigne of king *Henry* the eight, and of his ſonne king *Edward*, was tranſlated into the vulgar: alſo certaine Chronicles, Treaſties, and Tranſlations of that time haue added much light to the former darkneſſe. But ſince the dayes of bleſſed Queene *Elizabeth* (whofe happy reigne is as the dayes of heauen) what ſeaſ of paper haue beene alwayes furthering, poſhing, and encreaſing this honorable enterpriſe? First, by that holy Bibles **I** more

## The second Booke of Offices.

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A more exquisite and polite translation than before : after by the booke of Monuments, Chronicles, Treatises, and Translations, Theologicall and humane, by most ingenuous Poets ; and other Poeticall pamphlets, alwayes with studious addition, and curious composition of words, phrases, and sentences: howbeit, amongst the rest, as a very memorable register of English eloquence, highly deseruing endlesse remembrance, which liueth in his owne living works, Sir Philip Sidney, that diuine staire of sweet wit and inuention, hath so much honoured the language of this nation, in that his small hyue of all excellent humanitie, inueloping vnder the true Poeticall vine leaues of his labours such excellent sweet clusters of Philosophicall grapes and inuentions, both morall

B & naturall, as haue mightily benefited towards this rich vintage of our English knowledge. Since therefore these great hopes and helpe are left vnto vs: first, by God in his grace plentifully poured into the wits of this nation: secondly, vnder his great power by the kings most excellent Maiestie, through that auspicious amity and perfect Monarchie, established and growing more & more mightie betwixt all good Christian princes and vs: and lastly, by that golden gift of peace, derived from Gods sweet mercy seat, and from the true prudence and sapience of our gracious Soueraigne, and of his reuerend Counfell, which may giue all liuely perfections and faculties to learning; why doe we not then with a cheerefull and mutuall alacritie combine in our wits, studies, & knowledge, to make our countrey famous with our owne bookees and writings.

C Certainly, this enterprize, as it is vertuous and laudable, so is it glorious, and highly profitable.

Let vs therefore with cheerefull consent imitate those other great Empires, that our wits, learning, and inuentions, by diuine benefite equalling the best of theirs, our bookees and languages, with our men and marchandizes, may louingly bee receiued and embrased amongst them also. Then shall this our puissant little Monarchie, like a sweete fountaine, (which the further it floweth, imbokeheth into the more spacious and deepe channell) bee more and more magnified, *Cum ingeniorum iste sorpor & ignavia.* When this drowsie slothfulnesse of our wits cannot bee found amongst vs, but that we still studie to become famous in our vulgar, as those ancient Greeke and Romane writers declared in their ancient mother tongues. Encourage and gird your selues therefore with a pleasant equanimitie to this excellent seruice: for the ground being enlarged, hath left ample space for many seeds, and choice of hearbes and roots than was before: it shall bee strongly fenced with peace and plentie, when vertuous spirits shake off that idlenesse, which hindereth so glorious a worke: so well fenced and fortified it shall bee, that nothing shall come in hereafter to corrupt or deface your garden, so Geometrically set and devised. For sure it is, if the world and Gods blessing continue but one age of a man from this instant, our language will bee so much required by these childrens children in Fraunce, Spaine, and Italie, as thole their tongues with vs at this day. Then shall bee left matter sufficient, and as King-worthie for Commentaries to bee written by our learned Cesar in his warres; or in his peaceable affaires, so much diuine, morall, and naturall

## The second Booke of Offices.

Philosophie by the *Salomon* of our nation: then shall wee find substance for E the penne of *Lisie*, and pleadings for the booke of *Cicerio*: *Seneca* shall haue his place againe, but in a glorious Sunne-shine, and fill this new Monarchie with his sage considerations. I write this therefore, oft and againe iterating it, that many *Lisies*, *Senecas*, and *Ciceroes* shall flourish vnder our *Cesar*, if wee will worke out the fruit of our vertues by such vertuous contemplations and exercises, as may much dignifie their countries.

It is most certaine, that ingenuous natures and vertuous spirits (whose divine rationall ought to be fixed vpon perfect glorie) are in a continuall combatte and ciuile commotion within themselues, if they doe not employ their cogitations and studies in morall contemplation, still labouring like a woman G with child to bring forth some excellent faire birth like themselues. But this luxurious whirlepoole of idlenesse and sloth (into which such excellent wits are very soone and violently throwne) ouerwhelmeth that sweete reason, oppressing this noble birth, made abortiue in the very cheft of conception: *Gloria namque industria alitur ubi eam dempseris ipsa per se virtus, amara & aspera est, &c.* Industrie is fostered by glorie: take away glorie, which is the reward of vertue, and the last thereof is harsh and bitter. When therefore the vertuous Prince himselfe, and those noble arches of his Monarchie, shall perceiue this their towardnesse and trauaile in vertues, little doubt is there, that the reward of their studies and vertues shall not encourage posteritie more and H more to make learning as cheape in England and Scotland, as euer it was a- mongst the Greeks and Romanes.

The knowledge of Hystories is another quality most concerning a Counsellour: as with notable attention and diligence to peruse and marke the Records, Annales, and Chronicles of all ages, people, and princes, together with the written stories of friends, neighbours, and enemies. Historie is a viue experiance of matters, the parent of Philosophie, a collection of all things, in all ages authorized by good triall and practise of many men. This is it which *Diodorus* in the Proheme of his Hystories doth affirme, *Will teach us, what ought to be the principall scope of our desires and desestations.* This which summoneth all creatures of all countries and fashions as to a generall muster: imitating his diuine prouidence, which in heauenly iustice and bountie bestoweth vpon euerie man according to deserit: all vertuous actions are eter- nized by the penne of Hystorie: so farre doth it surpass the sage counsels and golden sentences of our forefathers and former Philosophers, as times continuance comprehendeth more examples than one mans age. This is it which maketh young mens iudgements of parill ripenesse with old age, grounding aged persons in the depth of wisedome; to whome long experiance hath al- readie ministered a dayly triall of causes. It maketh priuate men fit for Empire, and Emperours earnest in vertue for victories; heartening souldiours to giue a courageous charge vpon perils, for honour of their countries, terrifying malefactors, propagating Soueraignetie by good example, deuising lawes, inuen- ting ares, preferring vertuous actions, enfranchised from mortalitie; declar- ing it selfe a memorable and perfect marble-register of misdeedes, and gene- rally

A rally benevolent. This is it which aged time onely nourisheith, when it eateth vp all things : besides, this is the patterne of eloquence, the true mirrour of Philosophie, the garden of knowledge : and hence is it, that *Aristotle* in his Politickes writeth, how the skill of actions and Histories of deedes done most import a Counsellor to learne, because things future are like their parent which came before them : vpon which all events of actions commonly depend. Hee therefore, which in noble Hystorie shall contemplate and meditate vpon the life of a good Prince or Counsellor, may find somewhat alwayes worth his own obseruation and practise ; according to that saying of *Seneca* : *Aliquis vir bonus elegendus est nobis, ac semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic uiuamus tanquam illo spectanti, & omnia faciamus tanquam illo videnti*: We must propose some one good man for our patterne, and alwayes looke vpon him with the eyes of our mind, that wee may so liue, as if hee were looking vpon vs ; and so deale, as if all our actions were performed in his sight. Let a souldiour liue fortie yeaeres in seruice, great, and of continuall commaund, as great *Alexander* and *Caius Caesar*, escape in many conflicts, as *Anniball* and *Cato*, receiue so many wounds, as *Scipio* and *Scæna* ; triumph in so many victories, subuert so many cities, devise so many stratagemes, consult vpon so many leagues, and truces, enterparley with so many princes, spending the full glasse of his time during those yeeres in magnificent actions, and noble consultations onely,

C like *Cirrus* *Themistocles*, *Epaminondas*, *Cimon*, *Fabius*, *Pelopidas*, and infinite others, auncient, and late : yet shall one moneths reading in *Livie*, *Plutarck*, *Diodorus*, *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, *Xenophon*, *Dion*, and some few more, (which haue eternally recorded all the memorable actions and vertues of them all) open more vnto him without bloudshead (if hee will studiously conferre, and reasonably remember) than euer the seruice of many more yeeres, with the slaughters of Myriads of souldiors, could expresse. The knowledge of all persons, the meaning of all matters, the depth of all secrets is locked vp in Hystorie. In it wee find that inestimable treasure of the Lawes, by which Commonweales were first ordered and instituted, in the sentences of sage

D and prudent men ; confirming societies in peace, and magnifying them by vertues : like *Physicke*, which is an hystorical commemoration or rapsodie of experiments, made by *Physitions* of old ; by whose Aphorismes and Precepts our *Physitions* direct their iudgements and medicines : it is a methodical Schoole-master of humane life, exemplifying the fashions and natures of people, a certaine experience of their actions, a sound and prudent Counsellor in difficult affaires. The cruelties and exceeding lust of *Domitian*, and of *Nero*, which may be read in *Tacitus*, hath power to terrifie princes from those vices which are recorded of them : when also they peruse the lamentable stories of *Caligula*, that *Fax & fex hominum*: That fire-brand, and filth of men. When they revolve the monstrous obscenities of *Heliogabalus*, who was amongst the people a Cannon by word, scorne, and obloquie : when they shall looke into the leaues of *Maximus* his life ; than whom, no man was a more cruell slaughter man of his countrey, finding what horrible epithites, denominations, and attributes, were worthely throwne, or (as it were) spit

E into

into the blacke legend of his bloudie gouernment, being called in diuers places *Busyrus, Phadaris, Typhon*, what better precedent can remaine in detestation of vice? Contrariwise, the blessed and peaceable reigne of *Oetavian*, the goodnesse and gracious condition of *Traian*, of *Persinax*, of *Titus*, and some others, are vehement prouocations, to confirme and encourage Princes in iustice and honestie. For euen as women (which curiouly fashion and attire their heads and bodies by their glasse, which representeth vnto them all vndecent and comely guizes) will presently shew themselues abroad amongst the people, finding their bodies by that myrrour pleasingly garnished: so Princes by the like resemblance find in the glasse of hystories, that which giueth spuris to their vertues and policie.

The case is lamentable, and I haue many times with heauinesse thought it, how few be the Chronologiers and Historians of our age, how doubtfull and vnfaythfull much of their matter, how fearefully and vainly seduced by misprision and affection. Sure I am, that infinite actions remaine worthie the penne of hystories: nay, that which men write of their own princes and nation, tendeth less to truth than vnto vaine-glorie: but that which is written by men of forraigne princes & people (such as *Mercury Gallobelgicus* falsely proclaimed in his *Annales of the world*) is both vncertaine, fallacious, and strongly fauouring of malice, blind zeale, and partiall motions of the mind. Whereas if men would faithfully search out by the true records and memorials of realmes and Commonweales the vertuous and vicious actions of princes and people, how would it instigate and deterre the well and ill affected rulers and commons of the world to take hold and detestation of goodnes & euill? In reading of them therefore we must carefully quote the map of actions, with the times & places, the causes, executions, and cuents of things, wherein some did prosper, and others perish, with the reasons why those were gracious, and these vnwelcome. If any glorious matter happened, whether it came by chaunce or felicitie, by vertue, or good counsell, what impediments in contrarie did cause it miscarry. A Counsellor should also consider by this knowledge, what alterations haue formerly beene: as in the realmes of England, Scotland, Fraunce, Ireland, Spaine, Denmarke, Italy, with other Nations: what Families possessed the Crownes of them, and by what titles and meanes, how long, what the causes of those mutations were, how many of every familie did reigne, which of the princes was most religious, valiant, wise, and fortunate; which not: how many battailes every prince fought, against whom, at what time, where, and vpon what occasion: what wautes haue beene for a thousand and six hundred yeeres past and since, betwixt England and Fraunce, England and Scotland, England and Spaine, England and Ireland, England and Denmarke: what with Wales, what with Heathens, and Mahemetans: what ciuile and intestine commotions: which and in how many battailes that were conquerors: what occasioned their ruine or victorie; also the causes and captaines of commotions, how they were vanquished or quieted: what benefite or mischiefe ensued thereon. Hee that can well and aptly make relation hereof, may passe the muster, with more than ordinary pay for his paines.

## The second Booke of Offices.

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A If a Counsellor therefore, hauing vnderstanding requisite, accustome himselfe with patience in much reading, (which is commonly most yrkesome to the purest and most precious wits) that benefit is vnspeakable, which by the knowledge of hystories shall enrich his mind and vnderstanding: considering how the examples of a priuie and publicke life, the beginnings, augmentations, proceedings, conseruations, and iustications of realmes, with all ciuile commutations, are discouered by them. The knowledge of which shall not be very long in attaining: for so much as men of this place shall find noble vse thereof dayly.

B Prudence is one speciaall gift of God, attained by prayer and the due feare of his-Majestie, which (as the wise *Salomon* sayth) is the *beginning of all wise-dame*. Since therefore it doth principally respect the knowledge and practise of wise magistrates to be possessed of that princely iewell, I will in so short as I can open the substance thereof, according to the morall obseruatiōns in Philosophie. Prudence therefore is the Gouernesse and Judge of all vertue, the knowledge which teacheth men how to liue blamelesse, or a true mentall affection, declaring (as *Cicerō* writheth) what honest and profitable things (with their contraries) wee should desire, and detest. It is likewise a kind of *cunning, which with a mysticall, honest, and profitable disimulation myneth into the depth of causes and actions*. And in another definition, *Est bona animi affectio & habitus indagandi quod verum sit*: It is a good affection, and Cic. in Rhetor. ad Herenn. habite of the mind, to sent out the truth. Prudence is either large and vniuersall, which wee may termē heroicall prudence, or a vertue strict and distinguished, that (being composed of consultation, cunning, opinion, and sagacitie) openeth the truth in all actions: and therefore it is imposed as an everlastinge iewell and endlesse victorie both in peace and warre, for any prince to weare neare himselfe. *Duo sunt qua ab egregijs principibus experuntur: sanctitas domi, in armis fortitudo, utrobique prudentia*: Two properties are required in excellent good princes: in his Realmes sanctitie, in his warres fortitude; in both places prudence. The substance of prudence is truth; by

D which humane reason should entirely be gouerned. Truth is the Medium betwixt arrogance and dissimulation, mouing men to shew themselves plaine in word and deed. There is another definition of politcall truth, not much different: *which is a kind of habite, to speake a truth in all publicke and priuate casen, without any fraud, arrogance, or dissimulation*. Towards the knowledge of truth (by lore of Philosophie) fve vertuous qualities are required. The first is Science, being a sure and infallible knowledge and apprehension of any thing, which may proceed out of the causes thereof, either by naturall instinct, or some other reasonable demonstrations: as in Theologicall and Mathematical practise: for so much as the learning contained in those

E Sciences, teacheth such things as cannot easily be wrested otherwise by reason. As first appeareth by the definition of Religion, which is the seale or bond of Theologie, being the true feare, loue, and honour of God: which religion bringeth a zealous care and reverent ceremonie towards the worship of a superiour nature; which nature we call diuine, because it so farre exceedeth

In vita Vlp.  
Traiani.

deth the corruption and perfectest apprehension of man: and amongst others by the Prophet *David* vnto the kings of this earth, as a monition or exhortation, it is deliuerner: *Understand, O you Kings: sensu the Lord with fear, and reioyce in him with trembling, &c.* And therefore if religion were nothing but humane policie (which the damned and execrable Atheists imagine in their foolishnesse) yet must we certaintly know, that if the feare of God aboue were not, men would contemne all lawes and vertue: imagining, that all men had free leaue in their owne corrupt natures (which they most impiously would make their God, and be by the same directed) to doe their owne hearts lusts. The Mathematicokes also (*Qua sunt quasi comites & administrativa vii politici*: Which are as it were the companions and agents of a Polititian: and which *Plusarch* placeth in the soule of man, as being a part of the Theorique or contemplatiue faculties) are arts likewise, which cannot otherwise bee wrested. And hence is it, that Science is called, *Habitus demonstrandi per causas*: A habite of demonstration by reasons. The second meanes towards the knowledge of truth, is art: being a kind of mentall habit or experimentall skill to performe and perfect things by such means, as without them they otherwise may bee done; and as *Tacitus* writeth: *Apud maiores virtus id primum fuit, cunctisque ciuium (si fiderem bonis artibus) licet petere Magistratus*: It was proposed to our auncestors, and vnto all citizens for a reward of their vertues, and as a thing allowable, to sue for reputations and offices, if they did build vpon their knowledge in good arts. And from hence are all trades, professions, and mysteries (by which men liue and attaine worldly happiness) drawne and deriued. The third part of truth is Prudence it selfe, being a certaine habite, effecting such things by reason, as either tend vnto the weale or harme of persons. Hence is it called Prudence in men, to consult graciously for themselues and others, to gouerne priuate families, and to serue or minister vnto the Commonwealth in publicke causes fortunately and beneficially. The fourth being Intelligence, nobly placed in the mind of man, is a kind of *habite, mouing the mind, inclining and yeelding it selfe constantly to things, which cannot be by demonstration perfected*. It is likewise a certaine habite of experiment had in the principles, or heads and grounds of causes, from whence all proofes are drawne. The adiuncts and parts of Intelligence (according to *Metopius* the Pythagorean Philosopher) are iudgement and contemplation, both of them issuing from reason. The fifth and last part of truth is Sapience; being a most absolute and perfect knowledge of such things as are contained within the limits of humane apprehension, as well in metaphysicall as in naturall causes: howbeit, especially leuelling at diuine matters, according to the definition of it: *Qua est rerum diuinarum amplissima scientia*: Which is a most ample skill had of diuine matters. Onely that which regardeth humane policies or affaires, is more properly termed Prudence: which (as *Aristotle* sayth) is the cause, meanes, or procurer of Sapience. But of this last part of truth I haue spoken more at large elsewhere. Vnto prudence therefore, as companions, are assigned Intelligence, which is (as I said) a perfect vnderstanding of matters: Science a iust apprehension of

In Moral.

Lib. II. Annal.

In lib. de virt.

Lib. I. cap. vlt.  
Ethikorum.

**A** of causes ; Art a true demonstration or ensignement of things : and Sapience a sure and certaine indagation of diuine knowledge . Aristotle attributeth to prudence three parts : the first, *Eucleia*, which is a kind of power or facultie, to giue good counsell in time of neede : then *Aylyria*, respecting a mature deliberation and perfection in doing of businesse : thirdly, *Synax*, or intelligence ; which is a prouidence, cunning, or expert iudgement to put that in execution, which hath beeene by right counsell preconsulted and determined. It is likewise the part of a prudent person, to know much in generall, and in particulars, to keepe in readie store and memorie, things long before done and past, if they bee notable : to see darts, arrowes, and all seriuous accidents of

**B** good hope and danger, long before they come ; by which gift they may prevent and auoid the worst, turning that which is good to the best successe ; and weighing the condition of things, as they stand in present state within the scales of reason and discretion : likewise, to be well aduised in all considerations and consultations, to be circumspect, iudicious, and of a good conuerstation, as well in respect of others, as for his owne sake ; to ponder well the circumstances and attributes of men and matters : for by the mutations of such things wee find it often succeede, how that will bee ratified and made lawfull on the morrow, which was the day before prohibited and punished.

**C** The difference likewise of persons, & of their qualities, by the respects had vnto their faults and punishment (as for example, in malicious killing vpon reuenge, in comparison of them that doe it in defence of their owne persons, by the law of nature, and for necessities sake, in making sacrilege the worst kind of theft ; and (in generall) when by due discretion the state and condition of people and causes, either high, great, humble, or small, are examined and respected: for by this course is the rule of decencie kept.

Moreover, prudence disperseth her force and vertues into three parts : first, into the condition monasticall (if I may so tearingme it) which appertaineth all particular persons in their peculiar estates seuerally : the second, into the state Oeconomicall, which respecteth the administration of each priuate familie ; which Xenophon tearmeth the art of dispensation . The third and last being the best and right excellent part (wherin prudence ieheweth most force) is the state politicall alwayes employed in ciuile causes, generally working for the Common-wealth, beeing a true kind of science to which those of this counsell must bee first bound apprentices, before their adoption into this societie.

Hee therefore, that would bee a good master in his owne familie, must first by good demeanure and conuerstation amongst his neighbors hold himselfe vp, that he may purchase a generall good opinion, witnesse, and commendation of his integritie ; being by those excellent deserts made fit for the gouernment of a familie. Which when he knoweth by that circumspection, accustomed in his owne particular carriage, how to gouerne, then shall hee likewise haue his faculties by good helpe of morall obseruations and practise of vertues, surely kniȝt and enabled to giue counsell, and administer in

this principall Office vnder the King or Commonwealth : for if hee cannot F  
moderate himselfe, how shall he rule in Oecohomic? Neither can any man,  
not being exceedingly perfect in them both (with other excellent suppliments  
and vertuous helpe, such as you shall hereafter reade in this booke of Offices)  
deserue the place of a Counsellor. Howbeit, for as much as these two last,  
concerning the administration of priuate families, beeing called a Domes-  
sticall, and this other noble part semblably termed a Ciuile gouerne-  
ment, are specially directed and guided by Prudence, I will therefore in  
briefe declare, what the learnedest Philosophers haue noted concerning  
them.

*Civ. in partioni-  
bus Orator.*

*Onoravita*, which is the forme of house-gouvernement, respecteth the good G  
order of euery mans familie, correspondent in profite and honestie to the  
places, degrees, and habilitie of the maisters ; whether they bee princes,  
noblemen, citizens, or priuat persons consisting of men (which includeth the  
maister, wife, children, and seruants) and of possessions, comprehending  
house and domesticall substance. They which might haue first beene wor-  
thily reputed Oeconomicall maisters, were *Adam, Enoch, Noah*, with diuers  
euen to the time of *Joseph* the patriarch : who did gouerne the kingdome of  
Egypt, establishing it with new lawes. Amongst these, *Melchisedech* named  
a king, and *Abraham*, who (though in forraine countries he were a stranger) H  
yet ioyned with kings, governing his familie by politicall and Oecono-  
mical Empire, and maintaining waires in defence of his people. The ma-  
ister of the house-hold therefore ought first to know, and put his whole  
power in practise, towards the preseruation of his wife and children, in  
vnion and societie, which both Reason and Law doth naturally moderate,  
beeing by sacred writ of the Testaments ordained, and vnder that  
commaundement established by the diuine sanctiōns of Christianitie, that  
they should be legitimate, begotten in wedlocke, and not the children of many  
fathers, according to the licencious rule of *Plato* : secondly, that the father  
vnto them and to his seruants shew beneuolence, and be tractable. His fami-  
lie must be disposed in decent order : food, cloth, maintenance, with house  
conuenient and answerable to the retinue, must be prouided, according to  
the nature of that place where he liueth. Wherin he must prudently consider,  
whether the ayre, which fostereth the places enuironing his house, be cold, hot  
or temperat: whether situate vpon the continent, or sea coast, neere a riuier or  
poole, high, low, fennish, moist, fertile, barren, neere the barbarous and aduersē  
borderer, or remote ; or to what winds it is most opposed, with such like : for  
according to these obseruations, houses are edified and fortified ; streets en-  
largened or straightened. Vnto which publicke workes, for the edification,  
amplification, or restauration of houes, villages, or cities, a Counsellors pru-  
dence is needfully required. I

Let them take heed of exceeding sumptuousnesse and ouergorgeous magni-  
ficence in building, aboue the proportion of their lands and reuenewes, en-  
uironning and answering the same : for it were better, that large demesnes re-  
quired mansion houses, than that glorious manors shoul'd want meanes to  
support K

A support and furnish out their magnificence . Concerning familiar maintenance (which is either domesticall, respecting tyllage, pastrurage, parkes for game, warrens of hares and conies, hawking, fishing, vineyards, orchards, hop-yards, gardens, and such like ; or artificiall, conuersing in arts, handycrafts, trades, and mysteries ; in part liberall, as painture, typographie, masonrie, with the like, and partly not) it must bee decent, honest, needfull, and allowable : for the worthinesse of a good house-holder is mentall, and not corporall. *Qui enim domum aut villam extruit, eamque signis, aulcis, alijsque cit. 2. off. operibus exornat, & omnia potius quam semes usendum exhibet, non deuicias decori sed ipse illis est flagitio :* For that person which buildeth a house or towne, and garnisheth it with armes, hangings, and other workes ; making euery thing more specious therein than himselfe, is not honourable in regard of his riches, but merely scandalizeth them, through his owne imperfections. Such gaynes as Vlurers, Publicanes, and Iewes of that profession make to liue vpon by the destruction of others, is most abominable and odious: for so much as it gayneth by coynes. Whereas it is euident, that coynes were not devised, because they should both beget and beare fruit of themselues, (being a thing hatefull and repugnant to nature) but ordained therefore, that other commodities (by meanes of exchange) should yeeld vs benefite thereby. For *Tacitus* to prooue this, writeth, That the old Germanes, when coynes was first vsed amongst them, did onely loue it for commerce and exchange of marchandise. *Eriam quod argentum magis quam aurum sequebanur nulla affectatione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua & vilia mercantibus.* Cor. Tacit. lib. de moribus Germ. Even because they did more desire to haue siluer than gold : not for any vaine affectation of their mind, but because the number and value of their siluer coynes was more fit for their vse in buying and selling of diuerse cheape things of sundry natures. Semblably, those trades of adulterat marchandise and traffique in buying or selling of wares (which are enriched by perfidious brocage, leasings, and such dishonesties) bee very contemptible. Panders likewise and bruitish baudes, the ministers of licencious voluptuositie, with mercenarie Players, Buffones, Fidlers, Iugglers, Flatterers, and couening companions, liuing vpon any kind of vnlawfull and dishonest shifts, by the confusion of ingenuous persons, of a liberall nature, young, and vnexperienced in worldly guile, are most loathsome and filthie.

B Let that therefore, which is the fountaine and profession of maintenance to them that are house-holders, be iust, honest, and profitable : that which is so gotten also, let it be frugally spent and husbanded, as it is commendably gayned : that euery man according to his place, apport, and qualitie, may maintaine that decent stately, which shall best answere to the glory of his owne countrey, where hee breatheth. But if *O domus antiqua* might in *Cicerones* time bee spoken of many, when this crooked world was sixteene hundred yeeres and more younger than it is, and not growne to that extreme auarice, vnto which all aged creatures of nature, by course more and more encline:

cline: what may be said of those pompous buildings at this day, which haue  
 chimneyes without fires, lodgings without strangers, kitchins without meat,  
 faire hals without that old and comely guard of stout yeomanrie, for which  
 England hath beene formerly famoued: In choice of a wife (if a man might  
 so haue it) this were to bee wished, that men towards thirtie yeeres of their  
 age ioyne in marriage with some young woman, not much aboue twentie,  
 both of them equall in substance and birth so neere as may be, well brought  
 vp in modestie, good huswifrie, prudent, of honest parentage, not disparaging  
 him in any thing, neither proud, nor malicious and froward, but such as  
 may both loue him well, and be worthely beloued againe; the persons, their  
 state and qualitie considered: ouer whom he may not (vpon any iealous mis-  
 constructions, villanous suspect, or opinionatiue report of malicious tongues)  
 beare a heauie hand, without certaine and manifest appearance of her dishonest  
 carriage: but in all his actions towards her, demeane himselfe honestly,  
 godly, decently, benignely, mildly, beeing directed by the rule of Christianitie,  
 that though he know himselfe to be the head of that double vnted bo-  
 die; yet he may so repute and esteeme of her, as of that other halfe of him-  
 selfe, ioyning with her in equall care and diligence towards the vertuous edu-  
 cation and instrucion of his children, as hee did with her in procreation of  
 them: considering, that education is the first, second, and third part of life;  
 without which according to Philosophie all learning is as it were *armedini-  
 quie*: the definition of Education is: *Liberorum tam in sanitate rotius corporis, quam in singularium partium concinnitate diligens conservatio*; The parents diligent conservation of their children, both in health of bodie, and in a generall  
 cleanly propernesse through all parts. And in this sort also *Ciutor*, the scholler  
 of *Xenocrates*, hath distributed mans life: the first, part to bee bestowed in  
 vertuous contemplation and practise; the second, in recreation and exercise  
 for corporall health; the third, for honest pleasures; and the fourth for the iust  
 acquisition and collection of treasure. So that the first threescore yeeres haue  
 reference to the education, as well for particular as generall government (whether  
 Oconomical or Politicall) the second prouideth in arming himselfe for  
 death to benefit posteritic. The care of a wife is also to ioyne with her husband  
 in prouision for her children, that they be furnished with corporall necessaries,  
 answerable to her estate, exercising them in true religion and obedience, disci-  
 plining them in arts and trades, according to their natures and capacities, or as  
 his faculties require. He must also keepe a iust audit of his gettings and expen-  
 ces, ordering and husbanding his goods with such a prouident hand, as that  
 somewhat always (according to the proportion of his living) be with a fath-  
 erly foresight reserved each yeere towards their stocke and prosperite to come.  
 Howbeit, if he be noble, or of such worth, as that by the vertues, paines, & wor-  
 thiness of his antecessors hee need not to labour for his liuing, but hath of his  
 owne without industrie to supple that charge: then must he so moderate, and  
 attemper himselfe to frugalitie, that he neither seeme prodigall, nor covetous,  
 but liberal and like himselfe, suiting with his place and condition. If he liue by  
 trade,

**A** trade; his apprentices must be well vsed, and diligently taught his science and cunning: if otherwise (keeping and retaining seruants for his traine and countenance, with workmen which attend his labour for wages) he should see that they bee with good respect and answerable to their qualities entertained and kept in their offices, hauing their wages and hire benignely and carefully paied vnto them at times fit and limited, prouiding that they grow not insolent, contentious, or malicious amonst themselues, but temperate and honest. The respects which ought to be required in a wife, are a diligent and dayly care of her house, that she personally looke to those houesold commodities and seruices her selfe as is fit: that she behauie her selfe honestly towards her husband: that

**B** she be no scold, nor maliciously demeane her selfe: that she teach and instruct her children and women seruants in modest conuersation, knowledge, and behavior: that she bee not proud, neither sumptuous nor fluttish: which those sweet Oracles of wisdome and Oratorie, king *Salomon* and blessed *Paul* haue diuinely and luculently declared, as is read in holy scriptures, That if strength serue, she giue sucke to her owne children her selfe: for as much as all Philosophers hold it the most naturall and best course of nourishing infants: that she teach vnto them frugalitie, referuing and encreasing her husbands stocke with her owne hufwiferie. In briefe (as *Freigius* in his Oeconomicks noteth) that she be modest, stout, iust, and silent.

**C** In like sort, that children should bee brought vp in the true knowledge, feare, and worship of God, in obedience, loue, and honour, to their parents, in patience of their fathers seruicte: that they bee silent without procacitie, when he speaketh: that they be dutifull vnto their schoolemasteris, and vnto those that teach vnto them the gouernment of themselues: that they be studious of those arts and professions to which their parents haue applied them: that they be taught to loath pestilent idlenesse and voluptuositie, beeing the perdition and confusion of all youth, from the highest to the basest: that they be reverend towards magistrates, and vnto their betters: that they bee true in word and deede: that they lend dutifull and willing ears vnto the words and instructions of men leartied, honest, and wise: that they bee modest. For in all his Dialogues wee find, that *Plato* with most yehemence and principally doth adhort parents to be carefull in education of their children, verely beleevung, *Non posse genus humannum absque gubernacribus vel honeste vivere, vel faciliter gubernari*. That the children of men can neither liue honestly together, nor be gouerned happily without Masters and Rulers. Lastly, the duties required in seruants, are subiection, fidelitie, promptnesse, attention, assiduitie, with obedience vnto their maisters frugalitie, moderation in diet, and apparrell, truth in matters concredited vnto their truth, patience, and facilitie: howbeit, I will (as before) referre my selfe in this true moralitie vnto the spirit of God, speaking in those Oeconomicall precepts and commaundements, which were deliuered by the blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* in their Epistles, and by our Sauour Christ himselfe, in diuerse places and parables of his holy Gospell, diuinely shewing and teaching the duties

of fathers, wiues, children, husbands, seruants, and of all other magistrates in F their places by the lore of decencie. All which Offices of wiues, seruants, and children, haue reference vnto a superiour, by which they bee secluded from hauing absolute power ouer themselues. Such is that diuine force of order, and true disposition in all thinges, which are created of God.

Whether it be lawfull for Christians to retaine slaues, to whom the Gospell hath graunted libertie: such as in diuerse parts of Christendome (vnder the Popes Supremacie) be tollerated and vsed, being in part naturall, and partly legall slaues, as you shall find in the imperiall institutions, *Sub tit. de seruis.* I referre my selfe to the learneder opinions of Diuines, Cannonists, and ciuile G Doctors, which can make a perfecte decision of that doubt: but sure am I, that amongst the true professors of Christs Gospell, seruitude is disallowed and abrogated by the generall libertie which was graunted by Christ Iesu to them that beleue. Concerning seruants by nature, I referre my selfe to *Aristotle.*

*Lib. 7. de Rep.  
cap. 11.*

As every familie composed is of seuerall persons, so doth each Commonwealth or citie consist of many families. This assembly being thus associated in the turelage, combination, or communion of one Empire and Law, out of his owne proper force can maintaine, protect, and gouerne the state of his affaires H by policie, being the third part of prudence: which (as *Plutarch* defineth in his booke of three Commonweales) is that state and order that every citie should obserue in the rule and gouernment of things. We find in holy Scripture, how God himselfe ordained this politicall doctrine and order by his immediat seruant and interpréter *Mosse;* proposing an example to posteritie, from whence many most behooffull precedents towards the administration of Kingdoms, Estates, and Seignories may be taken: by this is the Prince himselfe directed, as by some diuine caball, according to his capacitie, and to that grace which God hath poured into the hearts of his secret counsell, how to gouerne all the people of this earth. For euen as to the Pylot his course and compasse, by which he capeth and wendeth, euen as health to the Phyfition, and victorie to the captaine: so to the Prince and Magistrate, the blessed and peaceable life of his people and citizens is proposed, that they may grow plentifull in riches, powerfull in armes, ample in glorie, constant and honest in vertue. Likewise, wee find those policies most excellent, which king *David,* the figure of our Sauiour Christ, vsed: for hee did amplifie the realme of Israel both by peace and warre; adorning it with lawes, iudgements, treasure, armes, and power, encouraged and aduauned the studyes of learning, instituted the Leuites, Doctors, Musitians, and other professors of good arts. This ciuile prudence doth (as it were) prescribe vnto citizens their actions, conuersing in the maintenance of ciuile societies, by the vniiformitie of religion, vniuersalitie of iustice, and vnatimilitie in vertuous contemplation, and practise; whereby they liue together in pietie towards God, in honestie one towards another, in prudence and tranquilitie respecting their owne priuat and particular estates.

*Aristotle*

## The second Booke of Offices.

63

A *Aristotle* maketh this difference betwixt the Commonwealth and a privat familie: That Justice (by the distribution of equal measure to poore and rich) is most specious in every Commonwealth: whereas in Oeconomie, the minister of each familie doth at his owne discretion gouerne and dispose matters, as in the person of a prince ouer his children, seruants, and slaues. According to the generall opinion of all good writers, there are sixe formes of policie: whereof the three good are first placed, and the three bad drawne out of the excesse of those best. The first of the good doth consist of the prince his absolute authoritie ouer the people in yea and nay: which men call a Monarchy. But of this more at large in other places ensuing.

B Bodin writeth, that there are two sorts of Empire or Soueraignetie: *Vnum summum; alterum legitimum: illud legibus ac magistratus imperio solutum, hoc legibus obligatum: summum autem magistratus est proprium, legitimum Maiestatis*: The first is highest, freed from the strayne of lawes, and from any subiection vnto magistracie; the second legitimate and obliged vnto the lawes: but the highest rule is proper to magistrates, and the legitimate peculiar vnto Maiestie. Wee must consider also, that the king is not onely a parent and author of the lawes, but a most studious and diligent conseruator, and steward of justice. For in the Common-wealth a Prince is placed, as vpon a stage, whose words and actions the people (vnder and about him) obserue: him if they find iust, and of good demeanure (as I touched in the beginning of this booke) they will imitate: if insolent and wicked, then will they behaue them-selues accordingly. *Quales enim sunt in Repub. principes tales resquisolent fieri ciues: For such as bee the Princes, such are the people in every Commonwealth, sayth Plato.* Howbeit, kings in respect of their Empire, are superiour to the lawes & customes of their realms; which they may cōmute, antiquate, and abrogate as they list, vntesse such as haue voluntarily restrained them-selues in some particulars to the consent and suffragation of their Peeres and Commons: for so much as kings are the ministers and deputies vnder God: to and from whom they must yeeld account, and receiue punishment, according to their administration to them committed, if they doe abuse the same, or violate their oathes. And all kings for the most part, in causes concerning them-selues, will annihilate lawes, or remit and mitigate them, as our dread Soueraigne Lord hath done in pardoning traytors and nefarious enemies of the State, being conuict. Which counsell he likewise hath giuen vnto that gracious young Prince his sonne, of so great expectation and wonder, as the world hath not seene his peere in towardnesse. But iust Princes will not commonly commute, annihilate, or qualifie those lawes, by which their people may be preiudiced: for such Lawes and Statutes as concerne them, are enacted by their owne consents, not by royll prerogatiue onely. The second good State dependeth vpon that gouernment, which is referred to a competent number of the wiser noblemen: as if any Prince (being weake of himselfe) should diuolve the whole administration of his State vnto the lords and fellowes of his counsell: and this is called Aristocracie. Which kind of state we reade in holy Scripture to haue continued vnder Iudges, from *Moyses* vnto Bartoloxij de  
egy. the

E

the dayes of *Eli*: vnder whome the arke of Gods couenant was lost, and the E politall glorie lamentably defaced. But as it followeth, my iudgement yecl-  
deth to the learneders opinions of others: That there is not any state so lau-  
dable and diuine in earthly gouernment, as vnder one, according to that saying  
of *Nefer* in *Homer*:

*Non multos regnare bonum, rex unicus esto.*  
*Vnius imperium, cui Jupiter aurea magnus*  
*Sceptra dedit, insitque suis dare iura tuendis.*

It is not good, that many kings should rule at once ouer one people: let G there bee one king and one kingdome, vnto whome the God of might hath  
delivered the golden scepter, commaunding him to make lawes for the preser-  
uation and tuition of his people.

The third good estate of gouernment resteth in the discreet gubernation  
of the Commons, which is named a Democracie: such as gouerned Athens  
in times past, and the like amongst the Cantons of Switzerland, at this  
day.

Those other three remaining, and framed out of the excesse or outrage of  
these other three good states predefined, consist in tyrannie, by which the  
prince, according to lust, and beyond the limits of reason, law, or honestie, H  
cherisheth vicious persons, and by them strengthenceth his owne arme against  
all good people, which liue oppressed and tortured vnder his gouernment.  
The life of such tyrants is a continuall perillous and inward warre, becaule  
they cannot repute themselues safe either in front, in reare, or on the flanks,  
they miserably torture themselues with euerlasting danger & feare. And those  
are commonly called *Tyranni, qui vi & armis imperium arripiunt*: Which with  
force and in armes bereave others of their Realms and Crownes. Such was  
*Cirus Agathocles*, and others infinite, which maintained their spoyles and ra-  
pine by rauening and spoiling. These are they which despise iustice, lawes,  
and equitie; these which forslake the Commonwealth to multilie their owne  
priuate estates; these which vexe and oppresse their people with grieuous and  
insupportable tributes and exactions, as vassales and slaues, base and abject:  
those of these conditions may not bee called kings, but tyrants and nefarious  
oppressors: for euuen as rauenous wolues greedily rush vpon the flocke, so doe  
they, to dilaniate and deuour the people of God. The court of a good  
king containeth the least part of his riches, and his Commonwealth aboun-  
deth and ioyeth in all wealth and worldly felicitie. The tyrant hoodeth vp  
the peoples treasure, or employeth it to his priuate vse, impouerishing and  
excoriating the poore subiects. A good king hath a good Angell ayding  
him in the administration of his estate: a Tyrant is incensed and directed  
by a most inalicious and wicked diuell. A good king punisheth the wic-  
ked, and preferreth the vertuous; a Tyrant cutteth off the liues of good  
men, and prolongeth the dayes of the wicked. A good king thinketh him-  
selfe most powerfull in riches, when his people doth abound in wealth.

A

K

I

**A** A tyrant then reputeth himselfe most rich, when he hath robbed the Commonwealth of all their goods : a good king by the Philosophers is called a shepheard ; a tyrant is termed a wolfe : finally the good and true king esteemeth much more the life and weale of his people, than his owne life. The Tyrant doth not only thirst after the riches and treasure, but euen after the bloud and liues of his subiects also.

The second euill part of gouernment is called Oligarchie : which is when the Commonwealth or Vniuersalitie bee forceably yoaked vnder the violent lusts and empire of a few Nobles : as at Rome in the gouernment of the Duumiriate and Triuiniuariate : and in Anarchie, when the people confusedly by

**B** libidinous instinct and avaritious desire, make hauocke of all vnder their gouernment ; vising all kinds of dishonest pleasures and purchase, as a commendable and most needfull recreation and profit. For the deuill (which is author of confusion and disorder) raigneth in their spirits. Yea, ruinous and most desolate is that Nation like to prooue, whose lawes are made out of their owne lusts and perturbed appetites : *Multisudo namque malis artibus imbu-  
ta, deinde in artes vitasque varias dispalata; nullo modo inter se congruens, pa-  
rum idonea viderur ad capessendam rempublicam.* For a multitude which is first disordered and euill affected, and then dispersed into diuers professions and fashions of liuing, discordant within themselves, are not inete to take any

*Salust in Orat.  
ad Ca. Ces.*

**C** charge or tuition of the Commonwealth. For the vulgar are neither wise nor discreet, but rash and violent in all their commotions and passions ; especially when they haue the reynes in their owne hands. The violence of which misgouvernement caused *Demosthenes*, a most learned and euer-renowned citizen of Athens, through the peruerse and vniust sentence of the barbarous Athenians, being banished (after the losse of his countrey liberties) to crie forth in the bitterness of his spirit : *O Pallas, Pallas, qua tribus infestissimis belluis dele-  
taris, noctua, dracone, & populo: O Pallas, Pallas,* which takest pleasure in three most pernicious beasts ; in an Owle, in a Dragon, and in the people. Which kind of gouernment is not vnproperly compared to the weltring and

**D** vnconstant billowes of the sea.

The Romane policie, when their kings were abolished, was by the Senate managed a long time. After which the people retaining a Democraticall state (being attempered with the moderation and authorities royall, and with the Patricians, as appeared in the Consular estate, and in the Senators) did carrie with them the *fasces* and preheminence, vntill the reignes of *Julius* and *Augus-  
tus Cesars*. So that out of the Soueraigne rule of a kingdome, being reuived in the Consuls ; out of the gouernment Aristocraticall, represented by the Senators ; and out of the Democracie, manifested in the Plebeian Tribunes, a firme and absolute Commonwealth was fashioned.

**E** Those Monarchies which are esteemed most perfect and excellent at this day, being established by the Senate or Counsell of most prudent persons, aduanced for their true nobilitie to that place with a kind of consent and approbation of the commons, doe moderate, and nobly restraine the princes force within the limits of his owne lawes, made and published for the benefit of his

people generally : by which meanes their wealth & peace may be multiplied F & conserued ; especially when the crowne is not bestowed vpon any through suffragation (as by briberie, faction, or affection) but by royall right of herit-  
age, to princes next in succession by blood ; as it is in this renoumed monar-  
chie of Brittaine vnder your maiesties imperiall Scepter at this day : for euery  
good Commonwealth is vnder iust gouernment with excellent counsell con-  
serued and amplified : neither can it but of force must otherwise be ruined and  
perish.

For as much therefore as every Commonwealth consisteth of a multi-  
tude (which should liue in vnitie together vnder one God, one king, and one  
law) I will speake somewhat of the incorporation and harmonious vni-  
on of people and nations one within another. So much the rather, because the pre-  
sent state of our monarchie thus confirmed and happily lincked in vni-  
on requireth it ; in this semblably with all requisite humiliation, as in all other  
things, yeelding and submittting my iudgement to the correction of wise-  
dome.

The first and best forme of gouernment and empire is, where one king mo-  
derateth and ruleth all nations vnder his dominion vnted, according to the  
true spirit of vertue, which domination is properly tearemed by the sages of  
wisedome a monocracie : for it representeth the perfect ordination of nature,  
by which euerie multitude and deformitie submitteth it selfe to some one H  
thing which gouerneth the same ; euen as all things moouable are reduced  
vnto the first moouer or centre from which all Lines, Elements, and Dimen-  
sions are derived. For prooife hereof *Herodian* in his historie writeth, that  
*Darius* vpon a consultation, how the Persian state might be best established as  
a paranymp by the liuely force of a most eloquent oration defended the  
forme of a monarchie : which the Persian senate did also with one voice ap-  
plaud ; declaring and proclaiming him their king thereupon. The like part  
did *Mecanas* defend against *Agrippa* before *Octavius Caesar*, and preuailed : both  
their copious and effectuall orations are yet extant in *Dion Cassius*. To con-  
firme this both by diuine authorities, and humane nature, the blessed Apostle  
saith, that *there is one head, one spirit, one lord*. And it is written in the prophet

Ephes 4. cap. 37. *Ezechias, My seruant David shall be their king and onely shepheard ouer them all.* Also wee find in the gouernement of nature amongst bees, one chiefe ; one  
guide amonst cranes ; one emperour or king amonst nations, vnted in obe-  
dience to the righteous scepter of one ; and one iudge or president ouer euery  
prouince. When Rorne was first builded, it would not endure the gouerne-  
ment of two breth'ren equall in empire. And in sacred monuments we find,  
that *Jacob*, and *Esau* disagreed in the very wombe of *Rebecca*. *Vnum etenim ar-  
busum non adit duos Erisiacos* : One bush will not admit two ruddockes at once  
vpon it. Neither can the Empire or kingdome of any, brooke two Phoenixes  
to liue at once. Nature also instructeth and teacheth vs how one ocean  
imbokeh many riuers, which as contributaries, subiects, suppliants, and  
weake ones, haue recourse and admittance into the strong bosome of the  
vaste seas.

Genes cap. 25.

In



bountifull and gracious ordinance of God, appointed for the weale of his people. Also they that were so chosen in regard of their prudence, humanitie, temperance, and other excellent faculties, wherein they surpassed all others, were therefore called to the gouernment of people and nations, by generall suffrages and ioyfull vnanimitie. Such was the election of *Deioches* amongst the Medians; of *Samorches* amongst our auncient Britaines, and amongst the Gaules; of *Minos* in Crete; of *Numa Pompilius*, the successor of *Romulus*; who being absent, was chosen king of the Romanes, vehemently persuaded and vrged to take vpon him that Soueraignetie, which hee most peremptorily refused a long time: for a true king is the viue patterne and *Idæa* of all vertues, reuerenced amongst his people, subiects, and vassales, as a god vpon earth: whose regall authoritie being receiued from the most great and ineffable prouidence, grace, and secret charter of God, vnder the blessed seale of his omnipotencie, ought by him in all humilitie to be continually ascribed and reacknowledged to his incomprehensible deitie. For God of himselfe being most wise, most iust, and most good, would haue a most wise, a most iust, and a most good vice-gerent to rule his people in all righteousness and equitie. Yea, the barbarous rabble did so wonder and adore their first kings in those former ages, that they did faine and cominent, how they were not dead, but translated into heauen amongst their prophane gods. Many write, that the three speciaall vertues of a king, are Sapience, Iustice, and Concord, which without doubt are three of the fourre triumphant wheeles of his renowned and euerlasting glorie: but certaine it is, that hee which is verely valiant, magnanimous, and industrious, and he that with assiduitie, vigilancie, iustice, and equitie doth well gouerne his people, committed to his faith and sapience (after the manner of good shepheards which carefully guide and attend their flockes), doth doubtlesly discharge his function by iust meanes well and faithfully. Finally, these three properties are they which sanctifie him amongst his subiects, and through the whole world: Clemencie, which is the iewell of princes; Mercy the Sun-shine of kings; and Lenitie being as it were the milke of maiestie.

The third, one people including the Commonwealth, which also should acknowledge one only God and one king, considering the corporeall resemblance which is betwixt him and God; both of them soueraigning ouer our soules and bodies in ecclesiastical and ciuile lawes: for so much as wee be naturally borne vnder that obedience, as those other two former by their proper power beare domination over the nations of this earth, God hauing his vertue of himselfe, infinite, omnipotent, and limitlesse; the king holding his authoritie by the deputation, grace, and sufferance of the most high God, as his immediate steward, to direct, and to see them instructed in his holy Scriptures and commaundements, as also with his owne ciuile and politike sanctiōns to gouerne them, that they might liue in loue, peace, and vniōn together, as one flocke, obedient and answering vnto the voyce of their spirituall and temporall pastors, without wandering or straying from their obedience; like lost shephe, which growing wild, acknowledge not any shepheard. This third estate

**A** estate is diuided into the nobler sort, including as well ministers and magistrats immediat and mediate vnder God, and the king as the commons and folke : out of which are framed all inferior politicke corporations, trades, and mysteries, as I partly touched in these Morals before. From those three, the sanctified, reasonable, and absolute bodies of all Commonweales are deriued, their soules being drawne from the perfect and authenticall religion, deliuered and approued in sacred Scriptures ; which hold mens hearts in loue, feare, worship, and obedience vnto God, to their princes, and towards all sorts of people. This soule ought (as I haue partly declared in the Morals of my third booke) like iustice equally to peize it selfe, without wauing either to the right

**B** or to the left hand, further than is warranted by the written word, vitered from Gods holy spirit by the mouths of all our Patriarchs, the Prophets, and Apostles. This is the mightiest and most excellent charge, which rideth vpon the wings of euery good kings soule, presenting him sanctified and without blemish before the precious throne of God.

The king gouerning and preseruing in peace and good order those nations and people, which are by Gods blessed ordinance laid vnder his scepter, is properly called the head of this bodie ; beeing the noblest member thereof, and placed in the toppe, containing that rich treasure of all the sences, exterior and interior : as of imagination, vnderstanding, memorie, and common sence ; whereas all other members, beeing subiect and obedient thereunto, be partakers of touch onely. It likewise giueth liuely faculties to the whole bodie, as the Spring head doth to those other riuers which are naturally deriued from it. And therefore euery body without a head wanteth his life and sence : whereas though it want both legges and armes, it may liue and haue his being, though lame and miserable. In like sort, all waters not abounding from a Spring, are fennes, pooles, and marshes, mortified and without motion : whereas if diuerse armes and riuers braunching from the head, were taken away, yet would a liuely facultie remayne alwayes in the Spring. And therefore the best Philosophers and Physitions, as *Aristotle* and *Auicenne*,

accord herein, that all sence and motion beginneth in the braine : which being temperate, maketh a good memorie, which is gotten by quietnesse, by which the memorie groweth rich with knowledge. In such similitude and order all the perfect sences and motions of the Commonwealth begin in the prince ; who being temperate in himselfe, shall attaine that rich wise memorie (which is by the Morallists and sage Poets called very properly the mother of their nine Muses) and thereby, like king *Solomon*, become perfect in all sapience and prudence. This match is made by tranquilitie : for so much as the zealous care and studie to purchase peace, maketh every king blessed and reuerend, and in the prefence and sight of God, and of his people. Out of which the glorious renowne, honour, and good memorie of euery vertuous prince groweth famous in the knowledge of all posteritie for euer : cuen as for their golden gouernment, king *Solomon*, and *Octavius Augustus* were ; whose glorie shall endure with this worlds memorie.

Encouragement  
unto peace.

O what a comfort then may rest with the toyall spirits and diuine fenses F  
of your mightinesse, when all these blessings shall be plentifully poured downe  
from God vpon your gracious head with that oyle of gladnesse; and vpon  
the bodie of your kingdome, with that Angelicall Mandrake of spirituall good-  
nesse which was proclaimed at the birth of Christ Iesus; in the blessed dayes  
of *Ottawam*, when all the corners of the earth were in a long and deep silence  
as after a strong fiddaine tempest: which excellent foode of peace your bles-  
sed Maiesie hath in your sapientia from God preferred with gracie and amiciti  
to distribute amonst all the nations and prynces of Christendome. And also  
those your Maiesies heavenly studiis and contemplacions for the weale and  
happinesse both of your owne and of other Christiane prynces, your brethren G  
and their people are infinite, and alwayes walking: so are we with a fater and  
ever burning zeale strongly bound from thee fowle and franke heitred spirits,  
continually to pray for the perpetuall thesoule with your selfe and with your  
sanctified issue successiuely, to the joyfull time of our spirituall redemption.

The heart which containeth that spirit of moving and life, by me formerly  
compared to the forme of gouernement; being also the seate of sapience and of  
intelligence, according to the Physicall saying, *Cor a spiritu* and that of *Salomon*,  
*Da seruo non cor intelligans, ut scias discernere bonum a malo*. Giue vnto thy ser-  
uant an understanding heart, to discerne or iudge betwixt good and euill: by  
correspondent faculties governeth next to the head in fense and sympathie H  
from which (as I said) counsell is derived, and by which all these faculties are  
grounded in the mind of man, which I may call *The immediate vise of the  
soule*: vpon which mans dignitie dependeth, if it be surely fastened in reason,  
that in mind being as Philosophers write, pure, liquid, and diuine. Wherefore the  
heart being the precious casket or receptacle thereof, I doe resemble to the bo-  
die of this secret counsell: for as at the time of conception it is infused, & hath  
his principall residence in the heart: and with it the soueraigne ladie, which is  
the quintessence thereof (being the immortall soule) conioyneth with it in this  
mortall tabernacle: so doth the forme or state of the Common wealth with  
religion establish themselves by the sapience of this counsell. The members  
whereof as one heart inseparabla should accord in wisdome, consultation, and  
duely spirit, to aduance and put in practise the lawes and preceptis of God and  
of the king. Most surely, to that which is meditated and conceiuied in the head,  
this heart openeth, not to discouer the mind, but vpon wile preconsultation  
and praeiudicall having firsttlye sifted and discussed every matter twice or  
thrice through the pure seale of reason like gold repurified vpon the teste: till  
which time it doth not comitt any thing to the execution of arms, hands, & fin-  
gers to the body: the right hand therof being analogicallye copated to the ma-  
gistrats of our storie justice, and the left to ciuill ministrers deputed by the king  
to their bodie hinc: such as are judges holding the balaoe of equitie by which I  
wifetherto shew the and other meane magistrates supplying the place of  
hands and fingers. And therefore that excellent Law-father saith, that a king is  
*magistratus qui iuste in lege in lege iustus regnat*; a corporall god gouerned by the law  
of vnderstanding. Which vnderstanding (as I said) is contained in the heart.

Successiuely

*Baldus in art.*

**A** Successiuely the liuer, being nurse of that bloud, which from thence in great conduits issueth, and is through little veins and pipes decently distributed vnto the members of that bodie, resembleth the princes treasure. This beeing bred and nourished in euery part (as it correspondently feedeth and nourisheth the againe) doth harmoniouly keepe this politick body liuely and in health, each member according to nature, in his seuerall functions imparting comfort to another: as in the prince to retaine the tranquilitie of his subiects, appeareth by benevolent retribution and dispensation of their subsidies, for their vniuersall prosperitie. In this alike as sapience or intelligence gouerneth in the heart, so doth the loue of mony in the liuer, *Cogit enim amare iecur*, For the liuer procurereth loue in creatures. And euen by how much the more bloud encreaseth in the body, so much the more lust moueth in the members, which aptly consenteth with that old Poeticall prouerbe, *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*: The loue of money doth as much encrease as the money doth.

Also the lungs I compare vnto lawes; because from thence, as *Ausicen* and *Hippocrates* write, all organes of the voice are drawne, according to the saying, *Pulmo loquitur*, The liuer giueth speech: for the law is not improperly called *Oraculum Reipub.* lying next vnto the liuer and heart of the Commonwealth: which ought to be kept incorrupt, because it is so full of pipes, as by the least contageon and putrifaction therein, the same wil infect & endanger the whole bodie: and when those pipes are stopped, the spirit of life & mouing is extinct, so that the body perisheth. Semblably, when the voice of the Commonwealth and legall proceedings are stopped, which I resemble vnto those pipes: the forme of policie (being also compared to the life of a kingdom) by that default is defaced, the whole bodies ruine ensuing thereupon. And hence are those reverend Judges which interprete those laws called Prudents and Sages, whose sentences haue formerly retained the same force that lawes ratified, as is noted in the beginning of my third booke. The head, which is the rich treasure-house of these lawes, being resembled vnto the prince purely and precisely, distributeth and interpreteth all difficulties, according to the direction of Gods blessed grace and diuine spirit, which worketh in his conscience, guiding him in the way of truth with all innocencie and sinceritie: so that he will not suffer any thing to proceed from his iudgement and heart, in counterfeisance or any verball formaltie to blind and deceiue the simpler sort, & to satisfie the present impositions of his owne appetite, as that wicked Florentine secretarie did advise princes: but it must proceed from a sincere and iust heart, which is liberall of the knowledge of equitie, with which God hath enriched his heart, for the weale of his people, according to *Architas* the Pythagorean: *Bonum non semper Lib. de morum beatissim, quandoquidem non in possessione virtutis, verum in usu beatitudo cernitur, &c. dicit.* That which is good attaineth not a blessed end alwayes, because beatitude is not discerned in him which hath the possession of vertue, but in him which practiseth it: Like him that hath not power to see in vtter darkenesse.

Out of that head, this heart, that liuer, and these lungs, are composed those liberall Artists and Philosophers, which in and by them are cherished in every politick body, such as are instructed in Schooles, Colledges, and Academies.

The

The loynes and thighes I resemble not vnsiftly to the true Nobilitie; vpon whom for their vertues merely such honours are by the prince diuolued: fortifying and ennobling euery kingdome with their monuments and posturie: according to the precise estimate and attribute of true honour, which is (as it were) a due reuerence *bestowed upon persons in testimoniall of their vertue, or an extermal token of the Princes, or of the peoples good opinion of him that is honoured*: being Essentiaue and Subiectiue, in respect of the person which imparteth honour; Materiall and Obiectiue, regarding him that receiueuth honour.

The ribbes, bulke, and other baser entrailes may bee likened to the folke and meaner yeomanrie, which guard and impale those estates, being called the bodie, which according to Philosophie (being composed of that earthly kind of beginnings) serueth as a certaine vessell or receptacle of the mind: or rather more properly the prison or sepulchre of those other excellent mentall perfections, which contaminate and infect them with a grosse contagion, darkening, or obumbrating those intellectuall faculties with perturbations and deformities. Such are those that acknowledge no lawes nor order.

Lastly, the two legges which support the whole substance of all this little world, are honest merchandise, and tillage, or husbandrie. Merchandise consisteth in honest traffique, and barter, in exchange, in exportation, and importation of lawfull goods, from and to places, lawfull and authorized by the commerce and intercourse of Nations, in league confederated with them, and by permission of their prince: which kind of mercature is fitly likened to the legge, because it is exercised in trauell and seruice of the body to bring in that good, which may supplie towards the generall benefit thereof. Hence was it, that the Philosophicall Poets fained *Mercurius* with wings at his feete, whome they tearme the God of guile and merchandize.

There are three kinds of commerce: Mercature, Vsurie, and Mercenarie mysteries: the noblest of which is Mercature. Of Vsurie, I haue heretofore and shall hereafter (as occasion offereth) speake more largely: the Mercenarie trades are such vnliberall and slouenly crafts, as merely consist in the bare worke and labour of the bodie, according to *Aristotle*. Poore merchants in every State are dishonourable, no more fashioning out a good Commonwealth, than a small weake legge graceth a great bodie. And therefore *Cicerio* sayth: *Mercatura si tenuis sordida putanda est, si magna & copiosa multa undique apportans, multisque sine vanitate impertiens; ac etiam si satisca questus, vel contenta potius, videsur iure optimo posse laudari*: Mercature being poore is odious; being great and copious (traffiquing and bringing in commodities with and from many nations, and imparting againe to diuerse countries many benefits with good discretion, and also when it is satisfied or contented rather with reasonable gaines) is very lawfull and laudable. And therefore in regard of their huge wealth and great entercourse with other nations of the world, the State of Venice (which principally consisteth of Mercature) is account-

In Polit.

of. i.

**A** accounted noble and very honorable as *Bartholomeus Cepola* writeth, and <sup>in 18. opin.</sup> without all doubt, if it be not infatiate, mercature is the surest legge of a Commonwealth, specially to Maritime nations, Islands, and free cities: such as this kingdome of ours, and that one very rich state of Venice; at this day being in comparison of others such a concised seignorie: and therefore one *Lacon* answered a vaineglorious merchant which boasted in his manie ships sent out to diuers coastes of the world for choise of sundry commodities very wisely thus. *Finis est lucro prascribendus propter varios fortuna euensis.* Merchants must limite a terme to lucre; because fortune is variable, least in a moment they loose that gaine for which all their life time they laboured: and so be driuen

**B** into that infamous disease vpon the very desperate conceite thereof, which the Romanes called in their lawes Decoction, although through any misbehauour or misgouvernement in themselues they doe not deserue the report thereof. With which bankrupt maladie *Cicero* bitterly snuffed *Marcus Ansonius* in these words. *Tenesne memoria te prae sextarum decoxitise? Patris (inquires) ista culpa est: etenim est pietatis plena ista defensio: illud tamen audacia tua, quod sedisti in quatuordecim ordinibus cum eis lege Roscia decotioribus certus locus constitutus: quamvis qui fortuna virio non suo decoxitisse.* <sup>Philippic. 2.</sup> Remembrest thou, that being in thy roabes of honor and magistracie, thou diddest deceiue thy creditors, percase thou wilt reply that it was thy fathers fault, and in that excuse forsooth

**C** thou shal shewe great pietie: but was it not audaciously done of thee, to take thy place amongst the fourteene orders of state, whereas by the law *Roscia* there is a certaine place limited to banckrupt persons: albeit they did breake by some accidentall misaduenture otherwise, and not by their owne negligence or vice?

And herein appeareth how vile and odious this was amongst the Romanes, insomuch as if a gentleman which had delt with merchants in their stocke or cash, and broke in credit or promise, the merchantis did presently protest against his credit, and proclaim him, fallen into the shame of Decoction, of which *Lucas de Penna*. But (that merchandise or mercature is a principall

**D** and most needfull state in all cities and policies) it appeareth as well by continuall prooфе, as amongst other trades mentioned in the wisedome of Iesus the sonne of Syrach, Also *Plato in institutione reipub.* writeth how merchants and agents in traffique are most behouefull in every good citie. The difference betwixt them according to the legists, is that a negotiatour or agent is hee that buieth commodities, selling them againe without alteration of their propertie: such are they which transport and barter for tinne, copper, yron, raw filkes, wooll, or woollen-clothes; with such like which they sell againe in the same nature. Those are properly called merchants which buy these commodities, selling them altered into certaine instruments, or implements: as ordi-

**E** nance, belles, vessels, stuffes of silke, clothes, and garments; with other ingenuous needements for vse of people; by their mechanickall trades learned, taught, and allowed by the wardens and masters of those trades and misteries in the places where they reside or dwell.

Husbandrie being that other support or tressle of this politike body (which

L

consisteth

*Bartholomeus Cepola*  
*ander in opin.*

*In rubric. cap.*  
*negociatores na-*  
*milient. & pl-*  
*opianib. 3. forum*  
*de crimine stellio-*  
*natus.*  
*Cap. 38.*

consisteth of pasturage or tillage) may be worthily thought the right legge: F and therefore according to the prouerbe I should haue set foorth the right leg first. Howbeit there is not any great difference, yet Cicero specially commen-  
deth this exercise both in his booke of old age; and in his first of Offices, say-  
ing, that *it is the fruisfullest and sweetest of all temporall labours which yeeld bene-  
fit, and best befitting an honest man.* And likewile to Pomponius Atticus. *Nihil  
ad sapientiam agriculura proxime videtur accedere, habes enim rationem cum  
terra que nunquam recusat imperium; nec unquam sine usura redditis quod accipis.*  
I will not stand vpon this being so much writ vpon, and knownen: onely that  
honour and reputation (which was anciently giuen vnto it) is notable. For  
some Romane Emperours with their victorious hands, did hold the plough; G  
did cast corne into the ground, did plant, and did measure land with as great  
obseruation and intention, as they would in time of warre busie themselues in  
limiting, squaring, fashioning, and quartering their battailes and armies: ex-  
ercising with as much industrie and pleasure, the spade and mattocke, as in  
heate of youth, their swords and launces. Such were *Cincinnatus, Serranus,*  
*Portius Cato.* Also the *Fabij, Lentuli, Cicerones* which had their names of pease,  
of beanes, and pulse in sowing of which graine, each of them or their aunc-  
estors had exceeding knowledge: albeit, most renoumed warriours. Cicero  
likewise writeth of *Martinus Densanus*, who did triumph over the *Sabians* and  
*Samnites*, and yet contented himselfe with a little land, and some few cattell. H  
*Gaudenti terra vomere laureato, & triuphali armore.* The land reioycing in a lau-  
reate plough, and in a ploughman which had borne triumph frō the warres.  
Semblably we reade that *Deiotarus* king of Armenia was a most diligent hus-  
bandman, and *Xenophon* obserueth in the life of *Cirus*, how painfull he was  
in tillage and rusticall labour. For it is manifest that out of such folke very  
strong and apt souldiers are chosen and enabled for the warres, because  
through laborious exercise, their bodies are better knit and confirmed in  
health and strength, then either merchants or artificers which dwell in the  
walled townes. And hence was it that the Romanes erected without the city,  
those temples to their saint of Medecine *Esculapius*, constantly beleueing and  
meaning that villagers were in better health then citizens; or such as inhab-  
ited walled townes. They which haue written of the dignities of agriculture  
and husbandrie were *Chares, Parius, Hesiodus, Apollodorus, and Lemnius* in  
the Grecke language, amongst the Latines, *Cato, Varro, Columella, Vir-  
gilius, &c.* I

And in this order according to my weake inuention and iudgement haue I  
fashioned, and appropriated the politike parts and members of a Common-  
wealth: hauing also giuen soule and life vnto it. Now for as much as it be-  
hooueth needfully, that these members vnder one head, and of one body,  
should harmoniously conuerse and consent in loue and sympathie (which na-  
ture teacheth in our owne bodies, by the compassion and succour that one  
member hath of and in another; by supplying health to the common defects;  
and mutually mitigating the maladies in themselues, with a kind of reciprocall  
tolleration, passion and consent indifferently) I will speake somewhat of that  
vnitie K

A vnitie which God out of his infinite benignitie offereth and teacheth vnto vs of this nation, so coupled and aduned vnder your highnesse sanctified scepter.

The lawes of nature as I said teach vs how pleasant and consonant it is with the spirit of life, that all members accord in affection and mutuall aide one towards another. Since therefore it hath pleased the true wisedome and omnipotent grace of God, to make of these two kingdomes one bodie vnder one head: mfeeme it should not sticke in any mans opinion, how the same can any way proue vnfit or vnprofitable. Which diuerse, more vpon peruerse opinion, than any reasonable consideration, impudently seeme to beleue. But

B the wiser sort (which though fewest in number, are soundest in iudgement) perfectly know the contrarie. *In magna namque repub. multa & varia ingenia sunt*: For the wits of people in a great Commonwealth be variable and many: Yea, such as are of repugnant opinions: considering therefore, that by nature euery bodie hath one head onely; like one roote, from which many braunches vnted in one tree, doe spring (if it be not a monstrous bodie) so semblably should each head haue but one bodie: for how deformed and horrible were it in the sight of nature, that one head should haue two bodies: especially, whereas they bee knit by nature from the beginning, as these kingdomes both in one roote, being all members of one bodie, from the

C first vnted, then scuered againe by the great and most mysticall prouidence of Almighty God, and now reunited in your Maiesties blessed gouernment, for the accomplishment of Gods vnreuealeable, and incomprehensible iudgement: Since therefore we draw together in one yoake, wee may not separate by dissent, some with their stiffe neckes behind, and others with their obedient heads before: for oxen yoaked in such sort, can neuer till the land, nor tread out the corne, but leave it barren, and out of order. For it is impossible, that the labour should succeede well, when some kicke with their heeles, when they should haue drawne with their heads, making a distraction so much more violent through their disobedience, by how much more force

D there is in them that are so distracted: and from hence breaketh out the ruine and confusion of all good gouernment and policie: which answereth to the saying of our Sauiour Christ, *Omne regnum in se divisum desolabisur*: Euey kingdome diuided in it selfe becommeth desolate. And if this should happen, against which all good men shoulde make their deprecations, that God might auert the calamitie, which would impend it. Doubtlessly, the same cannot but proeceede from our owne maleuolence, and peruerse distortion, according to that true saying of *Salust*: *Vbi boni mores, nunquam discordia nec auaritia: ubi auaritia, nunquam boni mores nec vera concordia, &c.* Where good mannes, and honest fashions are vsed, neither can discord nor auarice bee

E found: but where auarice reigneth, you shall neuer find good manners, nor true charitie. And therefore let vs watch and pray, that wee fall not into discord, at any time after this our blessed vniou, composed by that sacred and most charitable hand of our liege soueraigne, least by those disastrous means we become fearfull of those nations, who otherwise we may retaine in due fear of vs.

Turne we therefore with ioyfull vnanimitie one towards another, and let vs which haue received much light and true glory from so gracious & powerfull a king, detest all malicious factions and distractions; which assuredly breake out of minds and spirits bare of honour, and abiect vnto themselues in all vneworthiness; which are persuaded, that auarice and ambition are the truest dignities in man, more than all his other mentall and intellectuall faculties. *Firmando sunt igitur concordiae vincula, & discordiae mala expellenda.* Let vs therefore make strong the bonds of our concord, and expell the mischieves of discord.

*Orat. ad Cef. de Rep. Ordinard.*

For it hath beeene our auncient honour and the Brittaine glorie, recorded of this Nation by *Cornelius Tacitus*: *Commune periculum concordia propulsandum cognoscere Brisanni, in vit. Iul. Agricole.* The Brittaines by their mutuall and intestine concord knew well how to repell all common dangers to themselues. Unite we therefore cheerfully: for according to *Socrates*, this vnion of a Commonwealth is the very worke and scope of friendship: and such as are true friends, *Estam ob vehementiam amoris capiunt connasci, & unum ex duobus fieri.* Desire euen in the yehement heate of their loue to bee borne together againe, and one entire to be made out of two bodies. Which vnion or communion of the lawes and liberties, with other emoluments, answerable to the rule of need and decencie, is confirmed by discipline, and discipline comprehended in the Lawes, and in Philosophie.

When England and Scotland were separated, yet were they brethren: for in one Prouerbe they did consent, That England was the elder, and Scotland the younger brother. And of late yeares their accord was so naturall, prognosticating this indissoluble vnion, that to the breake-necke spight of our enemies, our late peace of Englands dauncing in spirituall consolation, fed vpon that counsell which the diuine Psalmist vttered, *Ecce quam bonum & quam iucundum est fratres habere in unum.* And in the dayes of our fathers, when any iarres happened betwixt vs, they were such cauls or emulations rather, as commonly fall amongst brethren: which though they bee much violent for the time, yet they continue but a little time: and now the title of brethren is gone, in respect of the body politicke, for wee bee much neerer than before. *Hengift* hath married with *Scota*, euen as *Henry* your Maiesties royll father, the sonne of *L. Matthew Stuarte*, and of Ladie *Margaret*, who married with your mother *Mary* (daughter to king *James* the fourth, and to the Dutchesse of Longueuille) after the death of her first husband king *Frauncis* the second, grandchild by the first ventre vnto that good prince of renowned memorie, king *Henry* the seuenth, as your Highnesse father was by the second ventre: so that it may most fitly be said concerning that blessed coniunction of those two faire and peaceable planets. *Nuper ex atrocissimis bellorum ciuilium vulneribus paulisper respirantem amplexi sunt libertatem huius insula, Iacobus quartus & Margareta Scotorum coniugio sociati, &c.* Out of the late most bitter wounds of ciuile warres, *James* the fourth and *Margaret* (being knit in wedlocke together) haue embraced the liberties of this Island, euen when it began to faint and draw a weake breath.

This

A This happy marriage of those two benevolent planets portendeth the weale of Christendome: for in it by a double vniōn twice vniōted in bloud: once by the sacred vniōn of the two royll familiēs of Yorke and Lancaster, and after by that second vniōn in marriage, of a daughter and a sonne; that a mother, and this a father, both of them out of the bodies of king *Henry* and Queene *Elizabeth*, is this match made betwixt *Henry* and *Scota*, more firme than euer at the first, when *Brutus* raignēd ouer them, before their separation in the persons of *Locrym* and *Albancast*: *Iam non sumus duo, sed caro una*. Which sacred circumscription was figured and stamped in a peece of coyne of your late royll parents, vpon their vniōn, figuratiuely presaging this vniōn.

B on also:

Since therefore these nations thus coupled in one bodie, be both of them knit vp in your Maiesties royll person and posteritie, there is not any doubr, but that they will loue, loue, and accord in sincere vnitie together, perfecting and accomplishing that generall peace of conscience, which was begun and yet continued from the first of your Maiesties late dearest sister her beginning in reigne, euen to this instant, of your gracious gouernment: your Highnesse representing the person of this auncient Brittaine, comprehending the new spouse Scotland within your princely bodie (though your royll refidene be kept with vs, as in the bride-groomes chamber) hath that vbiuitie by God

C graunted you, touching the ciuile supremacie which his omnipotencie retaineth ouer all creatures. For though your Grace (being head) doe not really touch certaine parts of your Commonwealths bodie, yet that power and vertue which is contained in your heart, liuer, and lungs, doth gouerne and moderate in those places, by direction of that head, which commaundeth and predominateth all the members: insomuch, as they neede not say, that the bridegrome is taken from them, and that they shall fast, because they conuerse with him in power, feasting with vs vnder his goodnesse: for woe bee children of the bride-chamber all alike. And it is not to bec doubted, but that this new bride will declare her true loue and loyall demeanure towards

D her husband, whatsoeuer sedicious or malecontented spirits mistrust or misconster: for shee is from the first bud of her youth acquainted with her husband, hauing a perfect and infallible notice by long tryall, and hath sincerely plighted her faith. What is he then worthie, that would in the roote of all bitternesse seuer the barke from the tree by nefarious breach of this blessed vniōn, that I may speake vulgarly, sowing the seede of dissention of intestine garboyle and burlyment amongst auncient brethren, by making the peaceable members of one bodie to rebell against themselues, and against the will of God? Let them that haue scarcely suckēd so much as of the vile dregs of nature iudge hereof. For if two weake ones vniōted make a competent strength,

E then certainly, two nations so combined and of such force, beeing seuerall, (such as haue borne battaile, and confounded the puissantest princes of Christendome) may very well grow most mighty by their vniōted force: whereas if they should not now confirme themselues in vnfained amitie, which God hath commaunded, it must necessarily follow, that it had beene a million fold

better

better for them, that they neuer had knit in that nuptiall band together : for then will they both of them loose their owne forces, in mutuall resistance o-  
pening their glories to the spoyle of base and despised enenies. We now stand one in more need of another, than euer we did before, if wee consider it, and onely because we haue incorporated our hearts, lawes, and obediences to-  
gether vnder one God and one King, which hath not beene of so many hun-  
dred yeeres past. *Nam virumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio indiget:*  
For both of them being single, and standing in some neede of succour, may stand one the other in stede with their owne succours. This if wee ponder with franke and honourable accord, and shall ioyfully rouse vp and vnite our noble spirits, together with all heroycall obedience and true magnanimi-  
tie, vnder our dread Soueraigne, for him against his enemies, as we haue al-  
readie done our kingdomes : for if we will endeuour and accommodate our  
selues but to this our blessing of vnitie, which euery vaine foole (vnlesse the  
false tempter bewitch him) will apprehend with all comfort, profered from so  
sweete, good, and gracious hands of the Lord of our hoastes : then *Neque or-  
bis terrarum, neque cuncte gentes conglobata monere aut consundere queant hoc  
imperium* : Neither the whole world, nor all the nations and people of this  
earth, assembled in hostile troupes, shall haue power to shiuere or batter down  
this our Empire.

*Sal. ad Cef. de  
Rep. Ordinand.*

Hereof let vs prudently consider, being a matter of such high consequence: H  
for no mans imagination, apprehension, precaution, or prouidence can bee so strong in this case, as is requisite; *Nam de futuro nemo omnium satis callidus  
prudensque est.* Let vs therefore prudently consider, and it shall appeare, how both these kingdomes (which were so long seuered heretofore) haue beeene from the first remembrance which is remayning of this Island, since it was first inhabited by *Brutus*, (who shared it amongst his sonnes) and after him long and many times made one bodie: and how standeth then the present state of them in comparison? Euen as one auncient tree lopped off from the bole: wherein by processe of time, diuers old Danish, Saxon, and French graffes haue beeene planted, which take their vertue from the roote of that an-  
cient Brittaine stocke, including England, Scotland, and Wales, by times con-  
tinuance reincorporate, and flourishing out againe in one fruitfull tree. So that in the persons of your Grace, and of your sweete spouse (in whome the fruits of all these nations now prosper) these seuerall plants graciously sprout out on high, like the sweete Cedars in *Salomons* forrests: which shortly by transportation or inoculation of their sprigs into other kingdomes, may beare rule and preheminence in all the goodliest gardens of the world. Neyther can any difference bee found in a well seasoned palate, betwixt that taste which the fruits of these graffes yeld, sauing in a little relish, which I com-  
pare to the dialect of their languages, not differing at all, if you suite them with that old Brittaine tongue of Wales; which notwithstanding hath con-  
tinued faithfull so many yeeres vnder the Crowne of England. Since there-  
fore the wall (that deuided the two princely chambers, so neerely conioined before) is now taken away, and that one maiesticall lodging is made of them both,

**A** both, where the bride and bridegroome doe louingly repose themselues together: there is great cause why we should call vpon the daughters of Syon, (which are meant by the faithfull, and well affected, in *Salomons Canticles*) saying with cheerefull hearts: *Behold King Salomon, with the crowne where Canticle cap 3. with his mother crowned him in the day of his mariage, and in the day of the gladness of his heart.* For though the bride be blacke (as her name importeth) like *Scotos.* king *Salomons* beloued, yet is she amiable, and full of comelinesse, her riches is in concealed treasure, and her beautie glistereth within; which shortly to the comfort of them both (through the great grace and goodnesse of God, is like with glorie to be discouered into Christendome. Besides, what a rich dower

**B** was legacied to these happily coupled nations by God himselfe, euen in that faire and bright cincture of strength and peace, the true *Cestus*, or loue-girdle, which enclofeth them both: wherein by the omnipotent great worke-man (as the sacred Psalmist sayth) innumerable thinges creeping are wrought, both small and great: in which are placed multitudes of shippes militant and merchant, that (like so many precious stones of speciall vertue) decore and garnish the same: some hauing the power attractive to draw benefites and commodities vnto them from all forraine parts of the world: oþers distributiuе, which impart with a reciprocall benignitie, the fruits and blessings of this Island: diuers defensatiue, in the good cause of their friends and collegues,

**C** which confeathered together, as feathers all of one wing, ioyne in one flete against those rauenous vultures, which would tyrannize ouer them: many that haue a force repercuſſive, which flaming like rockes of carbuncles (euen as in the violent eruptions of Vesuuuius or *Ætna*) foulder and evomite the canon stones of their indignation and vengeance vpon those tyrannous aduersaries, and assaylants of their liberties; the dreadfull smoake whereof, doth yet in some Castilian stomackes taste vnsauorly. This girdle beautifully compasfeth our royll bridegroome and his bride, whose most beautifull vnited bodie giueth grace to this girdle, left as a pledge of this vniōn, wherein all Christian princes are made happie: so that the time may shortly come, when vpon the

**D** coast of this blessed Island many potentates shall strike their toppe gallants, beckening and bowing downe with their plumes of glorie, like homagiers to the Brittaine scepter: So that they which repine at this assocation or combination, may (when malice is vanquished) hereafter with glorie magnifie that which they contemptuously despised before: so that as *Salust* writeth; *Bell. Iugurth.*

*Quod difficilimum est inter mortales gloria inuidiam vincemus, si concordes & unanimes fuerimus:* That which is not easily seene amongst mortall men, our glorie shall triumph ouer enuie, if wee concord, and vnite together. For neither strength in battailes, nor huge heapes of treasure, can verely support and maintaine the states of kingdomes; but friends and faithfull countrey-men, whom neither armes can compell, nor any gold conciliate, faith alone shall retaine them in dutie, conquering and possessing their hearts assuredly. For who can or should bee more louing than one brother towards another? Or shall wee presume, that strangers will be faithfull towards vs, when wee breake forth in hostile variance amongst our selues? A firme state and euerlasting

lasting Monarchie was brought vnto vs by that iustice, which our right roiall liege Lord brought with him out of Scotland into this Realme : if we can bee benigne, meeke, gracious, and affectionate one towards another. But if in contrarie, what man is hee that can expresse our future defolation and calamitie. For euen as king *Mysipsa* dying, spake to *Ingoruth* his vnaturally fostered sonne on the behalfe of his owne naturall children, *Adherball* and *Hyemp-sall* (whose honours and inheritance he most ingratefull tyrannously did vsurpe) *Concordia parva res crescent, &c.* Small matters are encreased by concord. But hereof we neede not (vnder the protection of God) make doubt: for that which is a most comfortable assurance to the people of this Nation, the knot which our Soueraigne hath alreadie knit, is like to prove indissoluble. For the spouse hath in the bodie of *Queene Anne*, that comely turtledoue of Denmarke, long since brought foorth vnto the blessed bride-groome diuerse right roiall braunches of this vnted kingdome: which serue as faithfull pledges and witnesses of their inuiolable loue and vnitie. Nay, shee hath sealed it vpon the lippes of her husband with a kisse, which kisse can never be forgotten. Shee hath kissed his lippes alreadie; *from thence hath shee sucked honey and myrrhe*, proclaiming, that her beloued is hers, and shee his. *Shee shall therefore like a new wedded spouse, forget her fashers house and name, and bee called after her husband*: who, because he will haue a paritic correspondent in all meeckenesse, assuinet to himselfe the name of *Brusus*, from whom as from their great grandfrite, both *Hengist* and *Scota* were delined. This auncient name is the true name, and the nobler title, because it is more ample; and yet a new name, and of late: for what is it in the course of Nature, *Which is, and hath not beeene, or hath not beeene, and shall be?* As *Salomon* in that sence so sagely sentenced: for one generation passeth, and another commeth. *The righteousnesse hereof shall breake foorth as a light, and the saluation which commeth thereof, as a burning lampe.* And as the Prophet *Esay* diuining of our Sauour said: so may we not improperly applie the same to your Highnesse, beeing not his steward onely, but the constant and faithfull champion and defender of his Gospell: *The Gentiles shall see thy righteousnesse, and all kings thy glorie: and thou shal be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name thee: thou shal also be acrowne of glorie in the hand of the Lord, and a roiall diademe in the hand of thy God.* And vnto *Scota* thus much for her comfort: *Shee shall be no more forsaken: neither shall it be said anymore to that land desolate, but thou shal bee called Hephzibah, and thy lands Beulah, for the Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land shall haue a husband: for as a young man marrieth a virgine, so shall thy sonnes marrie with thee: and as a bridegroome is glad of his bride, so shall thy God reioyce in thee, &c.*

Psal. 45.

Esay 62.

This is that blessing which hath beeene so long prediuined and promised: so that our auncestors in many fore-paſſed ages haue heartely longed to see the same, but could not. Let vs therefore, which haue gotten this iewell, highly rate and esteeme it: and as we wish for the continuance of that peace which dependeth thereupon, so let vs embrace and defend the same: leaſt the prouerbe bee verefied amongst vs, with our calamitie, *That Envy succeedeth*

om.

**A** *our first glorie: that we make not foes of our fellowes, and fellowes of our foes.* Accord we therefore with ioyfull endeauours in vnanimitie, because peace and friendship cannot possibly reigne together in people of diuerse and variable minds. Let vs esteeme our selues all alike in libertie, without ambitious crowding or thronging in for prioritie; ascribing all earthly power and preheminence to the Soueraign of our nation, and liuing together as men commorant in one familie, *Qui eodem igne & fumo vtruntur, &c.* Let vs like those auncient noble Romanes dilate and propagate our honours by sociable amitie, rather than to repine at any iust and profitable equalitie, to the pernicious confusion and ruine of our estates in generall. Thus shall we stirre vp our discontented

**B** spirits, if in vs any such wilfullie of ambition reigne, to maintaine, to protect, and to glorifie those liberties which we posseſſe: and by these meanes shall no forraine enemies dare to complain or repine against any thing in vs, but of our greatnesſe and amplitude. By these meanes shall good fashions bee followed, ciuill and martiall exercizes embraced and practified, concord and firme amitie shall be confirmed and encreased inuiolably both amongst our selues, our old friends, and new confederates. This if we shall presently ponder and put in practise with the true vigour of our vertues, then shall we not haue cause to curse our owne imaginations and foresights, like foolish pilotes, which when a tempeſt is apparant and alreadie begun, lamentably threaten, and (as it were) aftertell of the calamitie, setting men to worke, when all humane hopes are past: or like to the imprudent gouernours of cities, which when the first sedicious sparkes are kindled, and breake forth to the ruine of their states, (which otherwise might haue beeene antiuerted by their precaution) ſpend the remnant of their time of ſuccour in wayling and weeping. But if my zeale carie mee too farre, to make a question of that which many peraduenture wife do think needlesse and impertinent, I craue pardon, affiuring my ſelfe, that the diuell, beeing conuention himſelfe, will bee very busie to make a disorder amongſt the people of God, that he might ſupplant the root of our true Christian glory. Since therefore the bleſſed time of our vniōn is accomplished and perfected, we ſhall not

**D** need to doubt, but that this our briue and bidegroome ſhal flouriſh like a garden incloſed, and abound in precious vertue like a ſpring and fountain of hap-pineſſe, which is ſealed vp. Neither is it to bee doubted or imagined, which ſome friuolous opinions haue cast out, that it cannot long and eaſily brooke your Maiesties abſence: as if according to the vulgar prouerb, the chiefe person of maiestic being out of ſight, ſhould be baniſhed out of her loyall mind alſo: for (as I ſaid) they might know, how the diuine ſpirit doth not call kings by the name of gods in vaine: for ſo much as this royll vbiuitie diſperſeth their ſoueraigne power, lawes, and authoritie through all the parts of this world. For we know, that Fraunce, which is much larger, had not many ages paſt diuers

**E** great and free principalities contained within her bounders: which by match and vniōn, as this of ours is, and through the diſobedience of ſome ambitious princes, are now firme and annexed as parts and members of that crowne, ſuch as were Normandie, little Brittaine, Aquitaine, Orléance, and others: and like-wife in the kingdome of Spaine; where at one time Aragon, Caſtile, Granada,

Corduba, Gallicia, Andelosia, being all of the little kingdome, were severally F  
gouerned, and Portugall also lately knit vnto king *Philips* Crowne. All which  
principalities and prouinces are gouerned in peace by Presidents and Counsels  
established in them. There seemeth then no reason to the contrary, why Scot-  
land should not containe it selfe, and continue loyall, shadowed vnder the ro-  
yal curtaine of your gracious authoritie by that sapience, which in your diuine  
policie is and shall be dispersed amongst them. For they cannot be such impi-  
ous, barbarous, and vnthankfull creatures, as to forget their faith and allegiance  
vnto him, that from his cradle was and is so dearely affied in them, and which  
hath since the first spiracle of his reason expressed such mildnes, and gouerned  
amongst them with such moderation & benignitie. Moreouer, the nobles and  
gentlemen of that nation are in this age by the maruellous beneficence of God  
and Nature, more than euer, ingenuous, liberal, honourable, and for the most  
part vertuously affected, desirous to learne knowledge & good fashion, which  
oftentimes I did obserue in the conditions of the for the most part: insomuch  
as it is a wonder, that a region, which was sometimes held and reported to bee  
rude and barbarous, could affoord so many ciuile and gallant spirits: which last  
good and honorable inclination is generally scene in the most of them, being a  
speciall braunch of temperance, drawne from modestie, noted by the Philoso-  
phers, and touched in the Morals of my first booke.

Shall any man then amongst the people of your Maiesties Nations bee so H  
stubborne, as to withstand this diuine ordinance, or so proud amongst the sedi-  
tious, that dare appeale from this so charitable and peaceable decree? For be-  
sides, that roiall Maiestie shall discountenance him, the very Cannon of those  
ciuile lawes which are approued & established throughout all Christendome  
vniuersally, shall vterly condeme them by that prerogatiue which is granted  
to your Highnesse in these words: *Rex Anglie est monarca in suo regno, & cuius  
sententia non appellatur, quia praefectus multisorum praelatorum est sui regni.* Much  
more priuilege then is included in your Highnesse, in whom is iustly planted  
the soueraigne right and inheritance of both these kingdome, now made  
one Nation.

Since therefore this head including your regall grace, being prudently bu-  
sied in continuall contemplation, premeditation, & conference of things past,  
present, and to come, (which are noted to be the very faculties of prudence)  
doth with a zealous and pastorall care tender vnto the heart, being the iewell-  
house of vnderstanding and sapience, the weale of this politicall body, which it  
by mature deliberation digesteth for the chiefe good thereof: euen as the liuer  
with bloud, the vocall organes and arme of iustice by pronounciation and di-  
stribution of the lawes, and every part in his particular function is ayding to-  
wards the preseruation hereof in health and tranquilitie: so should this head,  
with all these mentall faculties, and that body with all his members conioyntly  
labour aboue all things to preserue the soule pure and blemishlesse: for onely  
by that grace the countenance (which is the exterior pulchritude of this head)  
is made cheerefull, as saith *Salomon*: by this the heart receiuesth vigor and cou-  
rage, the liuer a long life; the lights, which are indeed the very lights of this  
poli-

*fforum de Off.  
Prat. lib. primus,  
prope Baldus in  
cap secundo, cum  
venitissim, &c.*

A politicke bodie receiue illumination and power : for out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings the strength thereof shall be deliuered, as it was by little *Daniell*. By this the hands are made strong, and the fingers ~~were~~ to breake a bow of steele : this couereth the bodie with fatnesse, girdeth the loynes with gladnesse, and poureth marrow into the bones : lastly, this maketh the feete of that bodie like Harts feete, swift and liuely, for transportation and inuention of all commodities and earthly blessings, making the whole bodie strong and lustie, like an Eagle. This is the consummation and perfection of all the first and last of Gods blessings in every kingdome, to preferue the soule, being the true religion, spotlesse, and without schismes or heresies, so neere as the princes

B wisedome can. Which your sacred Maiestie, to the most high pleasure of God, to the Commonweale of his Church, and to the vnspakable comfort of your people, haue done in your roiall edictes and prouisions against the Papists and Puritanes within your realmes and dominions. Without this zeale and studious worship of God, we well know, that all the mentall faculties, which are guided by the light of naturall reason (with all the vertues intellectuall) and spirit of liuing, are all of them mortified in man. And therefore your Maiesties sanctitie and pietie shineth amongst the members of this bodie, which are set to continuall care and diligence, how to keepe a cleane soule within a sound bodie, against the time when our annoynted Sauiour and Shepheard shall call

C the kings of this earth (which are his Officers vnder him) to bring in their flockes, then in the first ranke shall your Grace (being one of his best stewards) deliuer vp out of your two faire sheepefolds, Brittaine, and Ireland, the fairest and goodliest troupe in obedience and number, with cleere white flettes of pure wooll, sound and entire, before the blessed Lambe immaculate, that your Highnesse may with the receiue the wages of eternall life before the most high and euer-liuing God : which great audite, how soone it will bee summoned, and how suddaine (since it is hidden in that vnreuealeable booke of Gods incomprehensible mysteries from humane knowledge) it behooeuethe all princes, that they haue their accounts readie, least they beeing taken vnprouided, bee cast out with the wicked and reprobate shepheards of *Israell*.

D

Since therefore God hath preuented your Grace with the blessings of goodnessse, and hath set a crowne of pure gold vpon your head : since hee hath graunted vnto you long life euen for euer and euer : since your honour Psalms is in his saluation onely : since this worship and glorie is imposed vpon your Highnesse : since hee hath giuen you everlasting felicitie, and made you glad with the ioy of his countenance, because your Grace his annoynted did put your whole confidence in him : Certaine it is which hee promised by the spirit of his kingly Prophet, That his boundlesse mercie shall

E not suffer you to miscarrie : euen when so many shepheards of his people shall be consumed in your sight by the spirit of his nostrilis, vanishing like smoake out of the presence of his iustice, the angels of Gods sword and indigation scattering them : and in all diligent obleruation of wise men, which by the computation of times and conference of prophecies, as well those that

were first deliuered from the spirit of God in the Patriarks and holy Prophets, as by the diuination of our Sauiour Iesu Christ himselfe in the Gospels, and in all humane prudence and Mathematicall iudgements of Philosophers, by the course and motions of nature, it is apparent, that this world gaspeth, and languisheth, as being readie to be dissolved, and as I may fitly compare it in the taste of a sapient palate to *Vinum fagiens*, which is alreadie spent vnto the lees. Since therefore your most roiall Maiestie reuineth in your owne person and posterite this old Brittaine league as a second *Cadwallader*, but doubtlesse vnder the ioyfull and propitious comfort of the Gospell like to bee most fortunate in your domination, vnlike to the first *Cadwallader*, who was the last and vnfortunate king of great Brittaine, that reigned before your Highnesse, and fled from the wrathfull countenance of Gods devouring Angell, which then with plague and pestilence vnipected this land. What more happinesse can wee wish or meditate vpon in this mortall life, than after the time of our corruption and sinfull seritude to be ioyned all in one flocke vnder Christ Iesu, even as in this life wee liue and breathe together, after that happinesse vnder the blessed pasturage of our annoynted shepheard vnder God. Doubtlessly were it not a vaine prophecie (mete seeraeth) that should bee performed in your Grace, which was long-since presaged of *Arture*, king of the great and lesse Brittaine, who was a most zealous captaine in the cause of Christ, that a little while before the consummation of the world hee should come againe, perfecting all that goodnessse to the Christian Church, which by his taking away was then newly begun. What is he that shall in these later times facke these proud wals of Antichrist? Shall not he first arise out of the North? Certaine it is, that if any shall demolish that proud tower of Babell, and supplant from the lowest foundations that synagogue of superstition, by casting out the Symoniacall money-changers from the Temple, by purging all cleane, for the great audite and everlasting supper of our soules, it is your sacred and highly renowned Maiestie: and as *Carl.* signifying *Charles*, (which *de robegall.* interpreteth noblenesse and magnanimitie) is one of your Maiesties names, well according with your most gracious and heroicall nature; so doth your most excellent highnesse as a right renowned champion in the cause of God want nothing towards the execution and consummation of this euertriumphant enterprize, but perfection of time to make all absolute. *Gird then thy sword vnto thy thigh, O thou most mightie, according to thy worship and renowne. Good lucke haue thou with thine honour, ride on, because of the word of trussh, of meekenesse, and of righteousnesse, and thy right hand shall reach shee terrible things: for thine arrowes are sharpe, and will subdue those people that are thine enemies, thy sease is euerlasting, and thy scepter righteous: for thou louest equitie, loathing iniquitie, therefore hath God annointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse above thy fellowes. Hence is it, that thou art fairer than the children of men: hence is it, that thy lippes overflow with grace, because God hath euerlastingly blessed thee. Then with a valiant courage, and diuine spirit from aboue, wee may sue to see your blessed Grace, aduauncing your selfe in the name of God like *Indus Maccabans* in his holy warres against Gods enemies: which arose,*

and

A and like a gyant harnessed his breast, farring himselfe with all his martiall furniture Macab. 1. cap. 3. to fight, and ouer his batailes brandished victorie with his owne sword. Where it is also written, That hee like a Lyon lione domeaned himselfe in the conflict, or as a Lyons whelpe roaring after his prey. What a glorious appearance shall it bee to the poore militant members of Christes Gospele, when they shall see your Grace like the Sunne in his glorie rising, and as a bridegroome, with a countenance like the Cedars of Lebanon, comming out of his chamber amongst them, to be their victorious guide, sent from God, to give them victorie in bataile against the enemies of his annoyned: who though Fraunce bee called most Christian, and Spaine the most Catholike king; yet is our Brittain Lord

B the annoyned of our holy one of Israel, the valiant and most faithfull champion, and defender of the faith and Gospele of Christ Iesus: who when time shall serue, like a gyant will ioy to runne his course, when the Lord of his hoasts shall put it in his heart, to giue a terrible allarum to his enemies. Then shall he throw downe from their proud horses the stubborne & blasphemous *Gog* and *Magog*, which as the souldiours of Sathan and Lucifer scornefully subfannate the blessed names and mysteries of our sweete Messias, the God of righteousness: or like a diuine *David* against the proud brazen-headed Philistine of Gath, who reviled the hoast of the living God: The flesh of which reprobates shall be cast out to the foules of the ayre, for Reg. 1. cap. 17. their names are not wris-

C ten in the booke of life. Howbeit, your Grace, vnted with a continuall peace and loue vnto the princes of Christendome, in a bond, which cannot easily be broken, signifieth that vniuersall peace, which should happen immedately before the great day of the Lord. And therefore, as in the reigne of *Octavian Augustus* (vpon the birth of our Messias) the voyce of a blessed Angell was heard singing, *Gloria deo in excelsis, in terris pax & cum hominibus bona voluntas*: so in the conclusion of this Christian age, which seemeth very neere her end, your Grace may liue to see that happie time of our deliuernce, as the second and last *Octauius*, but manifolde more blessed in this Euangelicall treasure than hee was: for what can these great and fatall coniunctions of

D the Planets, and those wonderfull eclipses (which happened immedately before and since your Graces imitation to this Crowne) portend, but a great mutation or vniuersall gaole deliuernce of our soules.

Certaine it is to be thought, that some strange mutation is at hand, either by grieuous warres in some parts, or by diuolutions or dissolutions of empires, but if by warres, then I beseech Christ, that I may most auspiciously augure against the enemies of his Gospele: or if in happie peace, then that it may to your Maiesties endlesse glorie continue, which your Highnesse hath alreadie so fruitfully and confidently laboured & effected amongst all Christian prin-  
cess. Which blessed league, if it shall hold, what hope then remaineth, but  
E that the golden time of our glorification is come to the dore: when this our bridegroome and bride (as I said) shall come with the virgines that be her fel-  
lowes, conducted into the royll pallace, prepared for him before the begin-  
ning of the world. Which blessed couple incorporate in your Maiesties sacred  
person, shall ioyfully mount at sound of the trumpet, attended with shose  
three

three wise virgins, whose lamps are full of oyle, & lighted : to whō it shall be opened whē they knock faithfully, faith guiding hōpe, hope cōducting charitie, but charitie (being the most full of grace and fauour) glorifying them both : for in her (as S. Paule sayth) *is she law fulfilled, and through her are multitudenes of misdeeds covered, &c.* Which being sweetest of the three sisters, will doubtlesse-ly conduct your Grace by the right hand, because through her, the peace and vnuion, amongst all that professē themselves the members of Christ, is fruitfully wrought and continually sought by your Highnesse : so that vpon this second great Sabbooth, bringing with it a generall rest from all our earthly labours, and a perpetuall consolation in our endlesse praises and thankesgi-uing vnto God : when *Gloria* shall be sung in *Excelsis againe* ; *Pax* also shall be found in *Terris* ; and that author thereof vnder God shall be brought into the maelodious chamber of that all good, all great, and all holy bridegroome, men-tioned in the blessed Gospell, presenting before him a flocke well walshe, cleane, without infection, and sanctified, readie for glorification, that they may with their faithfull shepheard sit at the Lambes supper in the holy citie new Jerusalem, where shall be no more night, neither lights of the Sunne : For the Lord giveth them light, and they shall reigne for euermore. Happie shall they be found, which watch, and blessed, that are accompanied with those three wise virgins: for your Grace like the true Lyon shall be found with your eyes open to wait and attend vpon that King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, the Lyon of Iudah.

I haue spoken (my priuate condition considered) sufficiently, to make knowne the iust and godly grounds of this vnuion : fearing, if I should meddle further with soime cautelous and captious positions, suppositions, or oppositions in these cases, not onely to be condemned of arrogant presumption, (which is most detestable in all good iudgement and knowledge) but also to be venemously scourged with the malicious snakes of enuie. Modestie therefore enioyneth mee to restraine my forwardnesse in further discourse hereof : howbeit, in a man that fitteth on the seate of Magistracie, this were honest fortitude, to maintaine *vijs & modis quibuscunque*, without any feare or respect of man, discharging his dutie towards God, and declaring his dearest affection vnto that Commonweale, (by which hee liberally breatheth, and hath his free being) by the promulgation and faithfull ouverture of his reason and knowledge in those points remaining. It shall therefore suffice, least I be taken with some suddaine conuulsion, to diue no deeper into this Ocean of concealed treasure, but onely to be satisfied in that my reason hath alreadie (with the eyes of intelligence) beheld the bottome and ground of this blessed vnitie, which by God is composed of the rich pearle and golden sand of goodnessse and felicitie: wishing to them that are enabled with knowledge and authoritie, and which ought not to be moued with the passions of feare or affection, to bring vp from the bottome some grounds of this hidden treasure, that the misbeleeuing ignorant (if any be scrupelous or dōubtfull) may see, beleue, and embrace this happinesse : for they (whom it befitteth best to rippe vp fūrowes in the mountaunes, being seated vpon them) may best shew

A shew their eloquence and vertues impulsive, in laying open to the sunne that which hath bene so long concealed, if occasion herafter shall seeme to require the same. With me (that am the meanest of a million vnder your Highnesse rod) it fitteth well to plough in the valleyes, where every man yeerely turneth vp the same glebe. Howbeit, had I said onely, that this vnitie standeth best with the will and wisedome of God (from whence Enthusiasticall beameth a diuine vertue to the prudence of all good princes, receiuing their ghostly consolation from him, and by the weale of his people) which plentifully descendeth vpon them through the spirit of faithfull prayers, and is sucked into their soules by the sighes of their louing feare of God: or had I said that which

B I could easily proue by politicke likelyhoods, how within the revolution of one hundred yeares, the whole world (by this gordian knot, which *Alexander* himselfe could not, if hee were aliue, breake; being once surely knit in our hearts by a generall and faithfull consent) might bee made tributarie to this Monarchie, if the Brittaines would continue their loue so long towards God, and amongst theinselues: then must it haue followed vpon necessitie, that the chiefe temporall weale of your Maiesties people, and a speciall meane vnto their spirituall consolation, might bee locked vp in this mysticall vniion. So that some in their loue towards God; others in regard of that glorious calme at home; diuerse in desire and hope of more reputation and riches, euen all

C of them for some one or other speciall affection or passion in theselues, which they would haue satisfied, might ioyfully giue to this vniion (by your Highnes so graciously composed) a generall approbation & consent, for their vniuersall honour and content.

Now turning to the Morals of Prudence, where I left, I would speake somewhat summarily, respecting the conditions of magistrats, souldiors, and artificers in a Commonwealth. I deeme him worthie to bee reputed a good Commonwealths man, that being garnished with ciuile vertues (as with iustice and fortitude, which are in theselues moderated with prudence and tempefance) can as well in forraine places, and in the warres, as in domesticall D and ciuile affaires, performe the parts of a noble citizen and countreyman. All ingenuous youth therefore ought well and painefullly to be taught and practised in the liberall Sciences, and exercise of Armes; to which purpose, schooles for Sciences liberall and palestricall are principally needfull in every well governed estate. These things are semblably required in the consideration of every prudent Magistrate: that he see the Lawes obserued; Religion with all reverence embraced; Peace and Concord retained amongst citizens; all members of discord and faction extinguished; that each man bee diligent in his lawfull profession; that no man entermeddle with the State and Commonwealth, before he be called to that dignitie; that Tributes and Subsidies bee E duly payed; that euery man aduenture his life and substance in difficult seasons for the preseruation and safegard of his country; that strangers in league with their Commonwealth, vse their owne seuerall trades and mysteries amongst theselues, without losse and impeachment; and that they bee not inquisitiue or ouer-curious in matters of that State where they liue; but that

a vigilant eye be cast vpon them, to discerne of their behauours and honesties F  
 towards all persons, without intermeddling in any matters aboue their trades  
 or professions, vehemently to defend the Church, to prescribe such orders  
 (when occasion shall require) as may consent with the lawes, and times necessitie : and lastly, that thole of this Counsell and all other magistrates their inferiors behaue themselues according to the state and worth of their places and G  
 Offices, in a decent, courteous, modest, and iust sort, not rudely, couetously,  
 proudly, chualishly, nor cruellie, but to deale vprightly without any passion of  
 wrath or partall affection : in rebukes and punishments to declare mildnesse,  
 and needfull iustice, attempered with competent severitie; to punish malefactors, to reward men of good desert, to prouide that their cities bee furnished  
 with all necessaries for their sustentation and fortification ; as with corne and  
 victuall, with armour, and artillerie, against the dayes of famine and warie; to  
 prepare charitably for the poore and afflicted persons within their cities and  
 countries, that they perish not through want of foode, but that poore impotent  
 people be relieued at all times in hospitals, in spittle houses; and (in times  
 of pestilence) that the poore artificers also, which are not able to maintaine  
 themselues without worke, but are restrained at home, may bee relieued by  
 the support and exhibition of the richer sort, in those parishes where they  
 reside or sojourne. Also, that at other times, the poore able and healthfull  
 bodies be set vnto conuenient labor and busynesse, according to their strength H  
 and cunning. Moreouer, that strangers and trauellers from forraine parts, be-  
 ing confederate, and in amitie with their state, be receiued and entertained, an-  
 swerable to their worth and degrees (and for the credite and good report of  
 their Nation) with all liberall hospitalitie. For as Cicero writeth, *Est Repub. ornamento, homines externos hospitalitate in urbe nostran non egere* : It is a grace to  
 our Commonwealth, when forrainers are not destitute of entertainment and  
 hospitalitie within our citie. And lastly, that their whole care and studie bee  
 bent to maintaine the reputation of that Common-wealth, where they go-  
 uerne vnder their prince. And for as much as it is one speciall part of Pru-  
 dence, and of good policie, that euен in the most peaceable times, militarie  
 preparation and prouision be made : as the wise Oeconomicall father, which  
 in the most foison and heat of his haruest will store vp carefully for the cold  
 and barren season of Winter : so is it required in those magistrats of this coun-  
 sell, that (vpon suddaine assaults and warning) they bee carefull, and readie  
 with competent force to resist all forraine malice and ambition, howbeit, ma-  
 turely to consult before they leuie warie. If a prince without shamefull and  
 dishonourable iustition cannot auoyde battaile, then with great caution to  
 resist the common aduiesarie, hauing the captaines and souldiors readily pre-  
 parered and trayned to fight, with a noble valour and constancie : which also  
 must in time of peace be with sound deliberation, and vpon iust tearmes pro-  
 uided : likewise a warie prouision and speciall notice of such as for their  
 strength and sufficiencie may lead and commaund souldiors. Moreouer, that  
 in tranquilitie (through each dominion or prouince of the Commonwealth  
 within the revolutions of three yeares) a generall view or muster bee taken of  
 those I  
K

A those persons which are most able for militarie seruices ; and that a strict account be made as well of all militarie furniture, and priuate armour, as of publicke, throughout the dominions : that beeing conferred diligently with the muster-rolles of euery Shire or Countie, the perfect force of men & arms may be conferred and knowne : and that (if any defect be found in either) a ptouident preparation and supply may be made ; and that (whilst yet matters are in quiet) valiant and well approued captaines exercise the sufficenteſt of euery prouince within their ſeuerall townes, cities, and villages adiacent, once each weeke, or euery ten dayes, by trayning & disciplining them in martiall practiſe at the common charge for their vniuersall honour and defence : also that ſhips

B be rigg'd, manned, armed, diected, and prouided of captaines, ſaylers, ſouldiors, victuals, and artillerie, to reſiſt all forraine inuafion or hoſtile preparations againſt them : that treaſure (which is truly called the ſineuſs of war) be collected and inſtored for ſuſh purpoſes : that ſouldiors be taught order and obedience, hauiing their wages iuſtly payed vnto them : and alſo that they be warneſd, and with ſeuerē punishment prohibited, that they make no ſpoyle and boottie of them, in whose defence they profeſſe and beare armeſ : which complaint hath beene old and vſuall amongſt ciuitiſe and husbandmen in moſt places. Euery Counſellor therefore, and each other ciuile magistrate ought to be well inſtructed and perfect in theſe militarie rudimentſ, which he ſhal with a little practiſe

C and paine taking (hauiing read *Caſar, Yegerius, Frontinus, Aelianus, Polienus*, with ſuſh like) attaine ſufficiently. And whereaſ in euery Commonwealth there are three ſtates or columnes ſuporting the ſame, (the firſt of ciuile Counſellors or Magiſtrats, the lecond of militarie Gouernors and Captaines, the third conſiſting of ars and artiſciers of trades and myſteries) mee ſeemeth, that a captaine equalleth the ciuile magistrate, according to his place & degree, deſefding and preſeruing things in poſſeſſion, even as hee which attaineſt, purcaſeſt, and ciuiliſeſt the ſame. And ſo much hereoſ, conſidering I ſhal haue occaſion moſt fully to diſcoure of this point in my fourth booke of Offices. Now ſomewhat concerneing the oppoſites vnto this vertue, which I will touch briefly.

D Imprudence (being ignorance, or a want of power and counſell to make a diſference betwixt good and euill, or to giue a reaſonable iudgement of any thing within vulgar apprehenſion) is the firſt oppoſition to prudence : and hence came it, that each vniuſt and intemperate person was deemed by the Philoſophers fooliſh and imprudent ; as hauiing no force in himſelfe to gouerne his inordinat appetites to moderation. Giddineſſe of the mind & temerite are annexed to this vice: for imprudent persons through idleneſſe & negligence take no regard vnto their children and wiues, retaining no rule or diſcipline in their families: but if ſecret Counſellors and ciuile miſtiers, in office vnto ſtates and princes, be poſſeſſed of this intollerable plague, then doe the people vnder their gouernance hold it tollerable for them to ſinne with impunitie : as alſo, when Generals of armes are infected therewith, then do thoſe ſouldiors vnder their charge wax flothfull: ſuch as *Scipio Aemilianus* found at the ſeruice againſt Nuſtantia, whom he by fresh practiſe, diſcipline, and iuſtruction reſtored to their native valoures, formerly forgoſten. Calliditie & malicioſus wilines is that other

extreme, which oppositely withstandeth prudence, by which vnaduised people are deceiued with the meere semblance and counterfeit of vertues: yea, men of good natures and disposition otherwise (whose minds surmount their present meanes) oftentimes depraue their honourable conditions with hypocriticall medicines, adulterating their true natures with fallacious imitation of time, place, person, and the necessitie, which is by them imposed. Hence is it, that our ancestors of former ages are so much extolled aboue vs of later times, in regard of their simple, plaine, and open dealing in all actions, according to the saying of *Cicero*: *Non placuit maioribus nostris astus*: Our Elders were not pleased with craftinesse. For in those times no less then with some of our honest persons in these dayes guile was held most odious and abiect, eradicated either by legall vertue (which restraineth and punisheth the inalicious deuices of men) or by Philosophie, which (through the force of reason and intelligence) banisheth it: *Ratio namque postular ne quid insidiosè, ne quid falaciè, ne quid similes*. For reason requireth vs to doe nothing which may bee treacherous, fallacious, or counterfeit. Subtilties therefore in priuate causes which do not conerne the Commonwealth, should specially bee suppressed in all honourable Counsellors, and all such hypocriticall malice as counterfeiteth prudence to life, distanding so farre from it, as a man may shoot a rousing shaft of reason: for hee (that with all his strength laboureth to doe good) may retaine the name of avery wiseman, and become innocent, in respect of himself, and others. But the true conclusion is that, *Calliditas sapientia perfecta non est, nec honestas, quamquam species honestatis & sapientia esse posset, &c.* That calliditie is no perfect sapience, nor honestie, although it seeme both wise and honest. Wee should therefore take great care, least those vices deceiue vs, which in outward apparence resemble vertues: for the least wauering eyther to the right or left hand is vicious; let vs therefore ponder our selues in the middest. Ignorance in this, and in the knowledge of the limits, lists, and boun-  
ders (within which vertues and vices consist) seduceth very many, bringing them into thenumber of those ideots, whose reason is adumbrated.

Cic. 3. off.

Ouid.

*Nam mala sunt vicina bonis, errore subillo.**Pro virtute virtus criminis sapientia.*

For it is a neere steppe from vertue to vice; and vnder that maske of error hath vertue beeene so deceiued, that shee hath tollerated heinous faults, by mistaking them for small vices.

And hence groweth that generall mis-conceit, preiudications, and weake-  
nesse of discretion, which cannot rightly measure mens natures by their passi-  
ons. For example, when they call him a coward which desireth peace: if a  
man be subtle headed, then is hee trayterous: if simple, and a slothfull dastard,  
him they repute gentle: if vnskilfull in all commendable qualities, pro-  
ceeding from his owne lazie sluggishnesse, him they teame simple and honest:  
if a man through the intemperate and irascible passion of wrath can onely de-  
liver threatening rebukes, or opprobrious speeches, him they teame a plaine  
dea-

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## The second Booke of Offices.

91

A dealing man, whose mind and tongue (though both abominable) accord without dissimulation: if in his pride hee bearre himselfe aboue his place, faculties, and birth, him the vulgar calleth magnificient: if he be furious and desperate of life and fortunes, him they thinke valiant: prodigall persons are esteemed liberall; couetous and wretched fellowes, prouident, and frugall husbands; superstitious and blockish people are taken for, and reported to be devout and holy persons: such as are truly learned and excellent schollers in all faculties, are censured (by them whose iudgements are not so suddaine as malicious, neither so malicious as thredbare) to bee curious fooles, arrogant, and opinionatique. And thus is euery good and bad qualitie misconstrued with a reprobate glosse: but hereof I haue sufficiently spaken in my Preface. If therefore a man will warily ponder, what things are required in him that aspireth vnto the toppe and perfection of all goodnesse: if he can so fashion and shape his owne affections generally; as in seeming, that he crediteth any mans sayings, whom he list to beleue: if he can vse those honest blandishments, wilie complements, and needfull attributes, which can angle out the loue of persons: *Proprium enim virtutis est conciliare animos hominum & ad suos usus adiungere*: For it is a vertuous qualitie, to conciliate mens minds, and to make his proper vse of them: if he can apprehend the plaine causes, which moue most honour and admiration in their hearts towards any Magistrates: if hee can wisely discerne the Spring-tide of Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance (when they passe their bounders) then is he worthily deemed iudicious. In the consideration and practise of which, the whole force of prudence consisteth.

B Peregrination of countreyes is another cheefe ornament in a Counsellor, in speciall the realmes and prouinces of his prince, his friends, his enemies, and neighbours. In such trauailes behoueth his care, prudence, diligence, and consideration: not to passe like those gaping and wauering fooles, in fayres and markes, which onely come to busie their eyes without benefite. But his vse of trauell must be, to know how such countreyes are gouerned in peace and warre: what reuenewes ordinarie out of his owne lands, and extraordinarie by contribution of the people, belong to the prince; how the realme is munitid; and how the people addicted: by such obseruation hee becommeth prudent, worthie to be consulted, and in honourable respectvpon his returne. Albeit, *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, Emperours, supposed, that men ought not to thine into the secrets of a foraine state: yet he which (vpon the dispatch of any legation) returneth into his owne countrey, shall be deemed prudent, if he can obserue & open (when occasion is offered) such secrets as by being shewed may profit his owne countrey. Amongst other things, if he bee commended by the prince to perorme any great embasie, the speciall subiect of his heare vnder God must be the renowne of his prince, and the chiefe organe & directorie, by which hee must square out his businesse and worke, should bee moderation. For if it happen that in arrogant speeches hee gallop out of the listes of modestie, then doth hee violate and abuse the maiestie and peace both of his prince and of the people. But rather if any thing in charge

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be by the king, through heate or some angry passion, somewhat more sharpe F  
 or bitterly deliuere<sup>d</sup>; that when he pronounceth his Soueraignes message, the  
 embassadour rather mollifie than exasperate any matters of litigious conse-  
 quence in his speech: and if other things of fauour or honour bee by him to  
 be signified on behalfe of his prince vnto friends, his care ought to deuise,  
 how he may make the same more gracious and magnificent by his owne wit  
 and inuention: for it sometimes happeneth, that princes by means of some  
 embassadours their intemperance and temerite, be vehemently moued vnto  
 wrath; and by the prudence of others are drawne into the true borders of  
 friendship and amitie. The things commonly notable in trauellung of forraigne  
 countries, are the lawes, religion, and fashions of the Nation where hee so-  
 iourneth; the scituacion, castles, and cities of the countries; the fashions of  
 the princes robes, and attire; the qualities, pedigrees, families, power, treasure,  
 and buildings of the Counsellois and Noblemen. By conference(vpon such  
 obseruation) he shall learne the good and euill of his owne countrey, how to  
 ciuilize the people, if their manners be corrupt, how to declare himselfe hos-  
 pitable towards strangers: for vnder them haue diuers charitably disposed  
 worldlings (such as *Tobias* and *Lor*) receiued Angels into their houses: how  
 to grope mens minds or meanings, whether they bee friends or enemies; and  
 according to the state of his businesse he shall accommodate himselfe to the  
 time, and vnto the state of his prince, hauing good note of all occasions, oport-  
 unities, encumbrances, and difficulties of places and seasons. No man shall  
 haue power by cunning relation of false-hood to make him swallow a gud-  
 gine, neither to build vpon any mans opinion. It is further required, that hee  
 know how many myles that countrey where he hath conuerfed, is in length;  
 how many in breadth; with what munitions and artillerie the townes are fenc-  
 ed; in what place of the countrey an armie may find safest entrance: what  
 faire and open Harbours, Ports, Creekes, Hauens, and Promontories there are:  
 how many deepe riuers water the countries; what the principall vertues and  
 vices of the people bee; what their chieffest pleasure: wherein their Nobles  
 differ from ours in England; what oddes betwixt their edifices, and ours:  
 whether of the princes is in power most absolute; how the people in those  
 Nations oppose their Soueraignes; what difference in the formes of their ser-  
 vice, and ours: how they muster, trayne, and discipline souldiors: whether in  
 marching or quartering of armies they spoyle the countreyman: what order  
 is prouided, that the souldior shall not annoy the peasant. So that in his relation  
 he may discreetly compare all those countries (where hee hath traualled) with  
 his owne, distinguishing of all properties with sound iudgement. For if distin-  
 ction be wanting, farewell election; and if that depart, prudence is also bani-  
 shed; the lacke wherof bringeth in confusion, which haileth on many millions  
 of miseries. K

A sound knowledge and apprehension of the princes strength whom hee  
 serueth, with the power of his confederats, neighbours, and enemies, is likewise  
 adioyned. This shall teach him how great their seuerall reuenewes are, eyther  
 ordinarie, or extraordinarie, from whence, by what meanes, and when they be  
 gathered:

A gathered: what forces his prince can leuie, and how long maintaine them; how well disciplined; what gallant or caitiue captaines amongst them that are enemies: which of them are confederat against the king; whose parties they proesse, and vpon what plot of malecontmpt, reuenge, faction, ambition, or corruption: how strong or weake those secret partisanes are; with what commodities they be furnished, and wherein wanting: for this is the ready rule which measureth any princes power. Hee should likewise of himselfe seeme able and worthie (when warres require the aduenture of his state and life) to bear commaund ouer many souldiors, and at all assayes so well appointed, as hee may be found *aque fortis ac prudens*, both wise and valiant: executing the laws of arms

B (as thole Romane Emperours, of whom it is written) That *in castris* they did *agere iure summo, domique ex aquo & bono*: That in the warres they did vse martiall law, and at home in peace administer equitie.

C When a Counsellor can with sound knowledge like a good Physition heale the diseases of his countrey, prouiding how to prevent them, before they can take hold thereof, he magnifieth his wisedome vehemently: he should therefore heare euery man willingly, fauour all indifferently, yet so, that most respect be fastened to the iust cause. A stranger in his good dealing and right ought to bee preferred before a neighbour: wherefore if hee were a Iew borne, or barbarous Heathen, if he were a Turke, or of what odious off-spring souuer, let his cause, nor his qualitie be respected, and in equitie let him hold the priuilege of nation, cognition, countrey, citie, bloud, and familie with a neighbour, for so much as may concerne his cause. In this qualitie the Counsellor is importunely warned to take great heede, that hee with his parts doe not corroborate any faction, or vnder the pretext and robe of iustice reuenge priuate wrongs. Euen as dissentions amongst captaines further the stratagems of their enemies: so doe the disunions of Counsellors helpe them, against whom their Counsels are bent. The principall and most soueraigne medicine, by diuers vsed, and most preuayling against the pestilence of dissention and enuie, by good experiment and knowledge, hath beene humanitie, and affabilitie.

D Justice and goodnessse is no little estimation in a Counsellor, when his sayings soothly consond with integritie, vertue, and veritie: here and there, in mouth and heart all one, in word and deede plaine, reprehending faults in others with all mildnesse and benignitie. His actions are throughly seasoned with beneuolence and courtesie: hee will not withhold his good counsell from any man: a patrone towards good persons, seuere against malefactors, in all places zealous of vertue, enemie to calumnies, detesting lyes and vanitie: no dissembler, no double-tongued person, no referendarie: for neuer was any dicator of mens conditions and manners faithfull, but abiect and base minded. Moreouer, a iust man will not rebuke one, beeing absent, for his faults, if hee may haue him present: that which neyther his eyes nor hands haue seene nor handled, he will not auouch, or verifie. He cannot away with flatterers or tale-bearers: for hee thinketh with *Tacitus*, That Adulation is an ever-liuing euill; and with *Chrysostom*, who

writeth, that people of such nature deuour and wast the prynces treasure much F  
more then enemies : and therefore it is written in the life of *Constantine* the  
sonne of *Constantius*, that he called those flatterers and enuches of the court,  
which wast the Commonwealth, and yet are alwayes murmuring, mothes and  
water rats : like those dogges of which the blessed prophet saith, That they  
run grudging and grinning about the citie for meat, vntill they bee satisfied,  
whose gluttonous appetite is bottomlesse & infatiable. *Nero* who was brought  
vp in temperance and sobrietie, through flatterers became cruell : through  
them *Cesar* lifted his arme against his owne countrey ; from them aspired the  
tyrannies of *Rhoboham*. But it is needlesse to produce forraine example, being  
well furnished with domesticall testimonies : for wee read and know, that the  
second *Edward* of Carnaruan, and *Richard* the Blacke prynce sonne, one and  
the other were deposed and confounded by the fruit of that viletie which they  
sucked from flatterers. A sage and honourable Councell therefore will fence  
his eares against the subtilties of them, least *Simon* enter with the Troiane  
horse, and there vnrif his packe of parasites, which wildly seiising vpon his hart  
will tyrannously vsurpe vpon his soule also. This is a whoorish danger, which  
first allurith, then bindeth, and being once tied, it is almost impossible for the  
captured to get loose. They therefore that respect their owne quiet with the  
prynce honour, wil esteeme more of one *Clitius*, than of six hundred *Aristippi*,  
for they present vnto such noble magistrats in precious vessels, that potion  
which intoxicateh their imaginations, vnderstandings, and memories, brin-  
ging in with it the Commonwealths bane and ouerthrow : euen as in a most  
sententious Tragedie was written by *Seneca*. H

In Thyselfe.

*Venenum in auro bibitur, expertus loquitur.*

I speake by good experiance, that vyle poysone is drunke out of fine gold. Such Counsellours therefore, as are possessed of iustice and goodnesse, will auoyd these monsters especially, living in peace with all men, contented with their owne ; they bee not any couetous money-mongers, they liue iustly and temperately, with a desire to pay their debts, eschewing suites and contentions ; they by labours, vertues, and abilitie seeke to rayse their fortunes : which if they shall vpon so good tearmes endeavour, then are they meere magnanimous, iust, and generous : but if they doe not seeke for the reward of this vertue, then is it a sure signe that they want the maine, and therfore to be reputed vniust, abieet, and timotous. I

Liberalitie likewise is a very gracious ornament, seemely besetting a Counsellor : this, since I did handle in the first Booke of these Offices, entreating of Treasurers, I will speake lesse in this place : onely this, it is a principall baite to take people, because aboue all things they loue to sport themselues in those siluer waues, orvnder the golden grauell, delighting in the sweetenesse of it. It is a meere follie to lauish in hope of gayne, vnlesse a great abilitie will beare it : occasions of getting will not alwayes continue. Oppose with moderation therefore against want, which is accompanied with the losse of time and K  
re-

**A** reputation: for certaine it is, that more credite commeth by one ducket present in purse, than by tenne alreadie spent. This is not spoken, that a man should be so beastly minded, as to scrape or restraine liberalitie, when estimation and honour offer themselues by reasonable expences, but onely to vse a bridle in vaine, and vnnecessarye disbursements. Howbeit, aboue all things auoyd avaricious Ostrocisme, which feedeth bad Counsellors, *sill they bee so far as porkes, readie to bee serued to their maisters table: as Aeneas Silvius fitly compareth.*

Charitie with bountie (such as *Polybius* prescribed to *Scipio*) magnifieth a Counsellor, to make so good vse of his going abroad at all times, that he benefitte some before his returne home: for euen as couetousnesse is the roote of all euill, so beneficence and charitie bee the well-springs of all goodnesse. Angelicall and humane eloquence, the gift of prophecyng, the secret and vnreuealeable knowledge of all mysteries, a faith retaining power to moue mountaines, are all of no force, if they be not illuminised with charitie: hee which giueth all his possessions to the poore, which sacrificeth his body to the fire or sword, meriteth not without charitie. Hee which is espoused to that beautifull nymph, is patient, bountifull, without mallice, ostentation, pride, disdaine, selfe-loue, wrath, euill thought: for shee reioyseth, and is inwardly rauished with consolation in truth, faith, hope, patience, and perseveraunce: shee,

**C** when prophecies, tongues, and knowledge shall cease, and bee consummated, can never be consumed, but liueth immortally: of those three sweete sisters of grace and heauenly benediction, charitie (being the last after faith & hope) is the chiefeſt, sayth that diuine Organe of eloquence, blessed *Paul*e, couetousnesse and malice are her open and professed enemies. Let a wise man therefore refiſt them; for they beeing vanquished in him that held out in force againſt her, leauē a beautifull port triumphant for charitie to come in with her gracioſs trayne of bleſſed vertues to take poſſeſſion of her ennobled heart. It is written of *Marcus Crassus*, that hee was magnified in fve things: in his great Nobilitie; in his maruellous Eloquence; in his excellent ſound knowledge

**D** had of the Lawes; that he was Archbiſhop, and the riſhest of all the Romans after *Sylla*. But all theſe vertues and bounties of fortune were ſtained with the corruption of avarice, and with the want of charitie: ſuch Counſellors little regard their charge, ſo they may gorge vp their owne coffers. *Woe to the ſhepherds of Israel, which onely feede themſelues, diſpersing their flockes negligently without foode*, as the Prophet threateneth. Immoderate riches in a vile avaricious person ingender pride, euen as vniuerted ſpoyle and victorie doth in a vaine glorious captaine: as was noted by thoſe letters which *Philip* diſpatched to *Archidamus*, after his victories had at *Cheronza*; who taxed him with proud and bitter rearmes, vittered from a ſpirit ſwolne and puffed vp with ſelfe of his good ſuccesse: but *Archidamus* in anſweſe to the ſame, aduised him to meaſure his owne ſhadow ſo ſtrictly as might be; and that he ſhould not find if one haire breadth greater than it was before the victorie. Men of this nature are like them of whom *Salust* layth: *Quibus neque modus conſentit- conſentit- cari, illis inſtit, utique victoram crudeliter exercebant*. Such as doe not retaine any

*Corinthi. 1. cap. 13.*

*Rom. cap. 13.*  
*Prov. 10.*

*Plutarch. lib. 4.*  
*Conſider.*

*Plut. in Apotheg.*

**E** mode-

moderation in conflict, but exercise their vertues with crueltie. And for so F  
much as appertaineth their immoderate desire of riches. It is the generall o-  
pinion of all wise men, that they (whom the force of auarice hath like a con-  
tagious pestilence inuaded) doe make more account of worldly pelfe, than of  
any goodnesse or honestie : they be not truly nor aunciently noble, but beare  
the meere counterfeit of honour, which vpon the touch prooueth very base.

*Bell. Ingentib.*  
*Es quanquam domi sint potentes (as Salust saith) apud socios ramer magis claris sunt quam honesti:* Albeit they be powerfull in their countries, yet doe their coun-  
try men esteeme them to be more in authoritie than in honestie. This greedie  
pestilence subuerteth all faith, all honest conditions, and good arts : in stead of  
which it raiseth pride, erueltie, false-hood, contempt of God, and authoritie. G  
Moreouer, this desire of money, *Quam nemo sapiens concupinat*, which no wise  
man hath coueted, as sayth Salust elsewhere, (beeing as it were composed or  
compounded of venomous mischies and euils) effeminateh and cowardizeth  
a mans mind and body, being alwayes infinite, neuer satisfied, which nei-  
ther is with plenty nor poueritie wasted. But of this vice I haue sufficiently spo-  
ken in diuerse other places more at large.

*Off. 116. 2.*  
*Off. 116. 3.*  
*Emper. T. Trajanus.*  
Beneficence being a promptnesse to deserue well, is (as I said before) a kind  
of liberalitie required in Counsellors : which consisteth in the aduancement  
of the Commonwealths profite ; in admonishing, commanding, reprehend-  
ing, comforting, procuring, defending, not onely requiring ayde and bene- H  
uolence, but by vertue deseruing the same. It is a beneficence to see, that the  
high wayes and bridges be made and repaired, to relieuе poore people, villa-  
ges, or societies, by crosse fortune or misaduenture distressed or oppressed: and  
(as Cicero noteth) *Benignitas est Reipub. utilis redimi a servis captiis, locu-  
plerari tenuiores, &c.* It is a benignitie commodious to the Commonwealth,  
that captiues bee ransomed from bondage, and that the poorer sort may bee  
relieued with riches. Such was that vertuous beneficence of the Emperour  
Titus, who when Rome for three dayes & three nights continually did burne,  
and that a grieuous famine with mortalitie chanced amongst the people, with  
his owne priuate purse relieued multitudes of them ; to many sickle persons  
ministring physicke himselfe, and visiting diuers which were discomfited vpon  
the death of their friends, performing this in his owne person. Such like is  
that sacred beneficence vsed by the princes of this land, in healing of diseased  
persons, and in washing of feete. In regard of which excellent vertue, *Vlpinus  
Traianus* was called *Pater Patriæ* : *qui per exquisita remediam multis pestilentia ja-  
cendij, & fame affectis est opuslaus* : The father of his countrey : who did  
(by most excellent good meanes and remedies) relieu and restore multitudes  
of his people, which had beene afflicted with pestilence, fire, and famine.  
Likewise, to minister stipends, relief, or corrodies to maimed souldiors, old  
seruitors, forlorne saylers, poore schollers, distressed corporations and socie-  
ties, according to the lawes, and by superadding somewhat beyond legall li- K  
mitation, is a speciall token of beneficence : for wee shall find, that one pen-  
nie (more than statuted-provision) auayleth more in the peoples loue than  
tenne pounds, which are prouided and allowed vnto them by law : and (as I  
did

**A** did in my first booke) so do I necessarile record it againe in this part, that base ministers, & vnder pettypursers, which geld, and curtall the princes bounties and beneficences, should be strictly and seuerely obserued & punished in such cases: which beastly dishonor here in England our late most renoumed Soueraigne Q. Elizabeth could neuer endure, but vpon any complaint approued, did cause to be seuerely censured. It is likewise a gracious beneficence, to be mercifull & charitable towards Churches, Almeshouses, & Hospitals; encouraging such as are vertuous and commendably qualified with good testimony giuen of their vertues & good partes vnto the prince; & in furthering of their preserment at his hands. Such a counsellour protecteth iustice, defendeth the people, guardeth the nobilitie, patronizeth his countreymen, adorneth the prince: and indeed sanctifieth him vpon earth. Gentlenesse & benignitie may not be forgotten in him towards people of all degrees & fashions, as in cheerefull giuing of eare with diligence and attention to their desires & petitions: in answeres beneuolent; and in promise of offices serious and graue; in denying, nothing supercilious, in rebukes nothing iniurious, in dismission of suitors, neither proud nor peremptory: such a man (when the prince extendeth grace towards any) doth pretend it to be twise so much as it was; comforting the subiect, & honoring the soueraigne. If a petioner be frustrated, he doth beneuolently, curiously, with very good words, & in plaine honest content him: such behaviour is much more effectuall, then gold. Bountifullnesse, affabilitie, dexterite, vigilancie, with diligence appare in him his apparel is honest, graue, and neat; his delight is in companic; he cannot away with factions, and alterations; he disdaineth no mans familiaritie, neither doth he wrong any man in bitter speeches; he delighteth in argue, & witty sayings, louing honest liberty, loathing ostentation with hypocritie. Fortitude deseruing speciall respect in a counsellour is only ment by the interior vertue, which may be termed heriocall valor: hereof more at large, & substantially my purpose is to treat in my fourth booke. Such therfore are sincerely studious of vertue, that with a mind aspiring celestiall honors, contemplate happily, contemning those passions & affections, which other men hold precious; as hatred, fauor, wealth, pouertie, ease, labor, life or death; but liue well satisfied with thir present estate, whither it be good or bad. His mind is neither brokē, nor disturbed; measuring himselfe by the cube of reason: wherfore (well knowing how suddenly time wil slip) he will not omit any commendable occasions to serue his honest purposes; but as occasion shall gallop heire him, so wil he warily catch hold of her bridle: boldly countesailing, speaking, & awering to the prince, & people as he thinketh expedient; he cannot be corrupted; & detesteth for mony, friendship, consanguinitie, prayer, or feare, to deale vniustly: he defendeth the truth, offendeth flatterers. In all actions, consultations, & judgments serue, and constaine a professed enemy to talebearers, bold in discharging his conscience, graue in speech, not superstitious, neither dissembling in heart toward prince or priuas person: his honesty wil not suffer him to deceite, his wisdom wil not brokē to be deceipted: his valor maketh him triumph ouer many calamities, & tribulatiōs, & his honor worketh toward him rethence in the eyes & hearts of all the people.

By such Counsellors therefore, euery prince and euery state is strengthened F and supported, both at home and abroad: for his owne subiects will willingly serue him, and forrainers stand in awe of his vertues: so shall the prince bee generally magnified.

What strong enemie was there to this our publicke state, that in the later dayes of the late deare Soueraigne of our happynesse, Queene Elizabeth, feare not the valour and fortunes of *Robert*, then Earle of Essex; vntill such time as through his owne credulous imprudence, hee wilfully wounded himselfe with his owne intollerable appetite. Of whom I will onely say that which I might worthely cite out of *Cicer*, then written to the good fame of *Caius Marius*: *Nemo unquam multisudini fuit carior*: No subiect euer was more deare to the multitude; and (which was lamentable to them that depended vpon his greatness) not Fortunes deareling, but her babie, nay, rather Fortunes babble, whose fairest spectacle is like a momentanie bubble, as appeared by those great hopes, reports, and opinions, which the people had of him: but *Non minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala*: But the daunger of a great fame, is altogether as great, as that which proceedeth from a bad report.

*Tacitus in vita Iulij Agricola.*

What open or close enemie was he that liued in any forraine part of Europe, which was not amated with that diuine care and wisedome, with that industrious circumspection and foresight of those two most worthie Senators of her secret Counsels, the Lord *William Burghley*, Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, sometimes principall Secretarie to that good Queene: which sittynge quiet in their studies, wrought so many wonders in Spaine, Fraunce, and Italie, for the confirmation and fortification of this Realme, against the tyrannous enemies of the Gospell, and of that our euer renowned Empresse of England? The first died very rich, in a most healthfull state of soule, and in honour of his countrey; which was for many yeares sustained, comforted, and protected by his prudence: the second, both in true pietie, justice, and glorie, respecting God and the Commonwealth; honorable, and truly rich, which was in mentall perfections, and in the loue of this Commonwealth (which he so much loued) onely.

Much therefore behouethir Counsellors, that in all their actions, counsels and consultations they become prudent and valiant, taking vp a place in the middest betwixt the zealous and true worship of God, vpon the right hand, with his vigilant and tender care of the Commonwealth, vpon the left, respecting them both with feare and seruent affection: and aboue all courtly pestilence, to take antidotes and preseruatiues against the contagious breath of flatterers, which hath corrupted and ruined more princes and noble gentlemen in time of peace, than the sword hath many times done in bitter battell. Such were they that treacherously myned into the noble nature of that renowned Earle, whom I lately mentioned, being men enraged with a lust of innovation, and of a present satisfaction of their all variable and licentious appetites.

This murraine disperseth it selfe through the Courts of many Princes, infecting

A feiting and eating vp whole families ; like pestilence the deuouring Angell of Gods iustice sparing none. Sycophants of this distemperature naturally (like mosse, or yuie) spread vpon great Oakes, and strong walles, neuer exercized in vertuous cogitations and studies , but fraught with flaundrous rumours, falsehood and forgerie the professed enemies to vertue and veritie; so they may laugh, feed , sleepe, and eaioy corporall pleasures, they force not what aged fathers, widowes, or orphans, waile, starue, watch, and endure endlesse vexation and calamitie. I mention this vice often, inculcating the perill, and poison of it many times, because it is so much practised in this Nation; then which, nothing can be more base, more odious, or more degenerate from Nobilitie.

B There is one vertuous condition which must inseparably be fastned, placed, or rooted rather in a Counsellor; and it is a pure will, godly zeale, and ioyfull promptnesse to giue sound and wholesome counsell, (of which I speake somewhat before) as when things be by mature deliberation consulted, before they be peremptorily resolued vpon, and all the causes (with euen hand) first weighed in the ballance of iustice. A Senator therefore (which retaineth so reuerende and honourable office) must respect the ground of his authoritie, which doth *best and most to life an asomize a magistrate*. Sodaine and doubtfull counsels do digest more happily with them, that are sildome vexed with trou-

C bles and difficulties; or with ambitious persons which onely respecting their priuate glory, feare least time of deliberation will grow scant vnto them, then with such Commonwealths as (being placed vpon the maine toppe of all power and authoritie) can leisurely tarry for a fit time and occasion. In anxious or doubtfull matters therefore they choose such a course as most behoo- ueth, and least endangereth : yet hath it been commonly scene in giuing of counsell, that the vulgar attribute all to the Counsellors prudence and foresight, if fortune fauour the euent; but if otherwise, then is he condemned in the contrary. And hence is it, that the meede of good Counsellors is often ascribed to fortune, and fortunes serenitie attributed to good counsell. If

D the businesse in hand be very weightie, the counsellors (which handle it) must be very warie, and such things (as cannot admit a recorrection, or reconsideration) must be with good discretion deliberated.

E There is likewise one excellent part in wise and compleate Counsellors required, which is to giue good care and attention to the sayings of all men vttered vnto him; and in speciall to those of that societie , which though inferior or superior in their places speake before them. Herein a Counsellor must muster his wittes together, and remeber those arguments wherwith all they confirme and corroborate their seuerall opinions, that (when his tourne inviteth him to speach) he may not misse a mite in recapitulation of any materiall pointes. Hence was it that *Pericles* (convening with *Sophocles* his fellow Pretor concerning State-businesse (vpon *Sophocles* his commendation of the beautie of a very faire Boy passing by) earnestly repli- ed: *It is not only fit so withhold your hands, but to withdraw your eyes from such vaine obiects in these serions cases.*

For these respects *Lycurgus* inhibited all manner of pictures from the chamber F of consultation, least the Senatours eyes being withdrawne from serious cogitations and obseruations, might (by looking vpon them) forget somewhat to the prejudice of the present seruice.

Deliberation also (being a diligent and prudent meditation of things future, doubtful, and consyngent, remayning in our power; by which choice is made of the best meanes to good and happy successe in any thing that may be done or spoken) is one speciall type of a Counsellors prudence. Which some compare to the Mulberrie, that flourishing last of all trees, yeeldeth ripe fruit before others: for after sound consultation matters are with expedition acted. Neither may counsell be profered, before the king require it, like a vaine phisition, which will intrude himselfe before hee bee sent for, vnlesse some speciall causes to himselfe onely knowne, and in matters of great weight he find it most necessarie: for there be three fashions of counselling, by Reason, by good Authoritie, by faithfull example: which three concurring, are of most validitie. If a Counsellor therefore yeeld not vnto the votes and suffrages of any thing, propounded by whatsoeuer persons: first, let him arme himselfe in good prooef, tempered with the steele of reason, to maintaine the contrarie parts more conueniently: and for so much as it standeth him in hand to confute their opinions; and that very few with due moderation can haue patience to bee conuinced: let him vse all temperance and iuldnesse of speech, that H may bee, without contention: for it sufficeth a worthie Counsellor (let others thinke at their pleasure) to satisfie his priuate conscience.

If memorie likewise doe not by nature richly supplie to the Counsellors reading: for so much as it is fitly called the Register of eloquence, and mother of the Muses, it will be much behoofefull, that a Counsellor studie to reforne himselfe by that art industriously, which by maps, characters, or *Hyeroglyphickes* may be best placed.

Knowledge in the studies of Morall and Naturall Philosophie, being first well grounded with Logicall rules, that he may probably discourse & dispute wisely (when any question vpon good occasion requireth) is needfull also. The Philosophie which *Plato* defineth in one of his Epistles, is constancie, faithfulness, and sinceritie. Which tripartite kind is by the Morallists called the art of Sapience: for it teacheth vs the knowledge of God, it reclaymeth vs to fortitude and modestie; which illuminating our minds, consumeth those mystie vapours of ignorance and dulnesse, that oppresse our reason; so that we may clearely behold things aboue vs, about vs, and beneath vs: it rooteth out vice, harrowing the mind, and making it fit to receiue the seede of all good knowledge; without which mans nature is wounded, and miserable. They which studie these arts, are properly called *Prudences*: For Philosophie is by interpretation the studie of knowledge, being the perfection of all humane skill, and altogether necessarily to bee studied and sought for by princes and great magistrates. For as *Cicero* writeth: *Philosophia est fructuosa, nulla pars eius inulta atque deserita*: Philosophie is fruitfull, no part of which is vnmanured, or desert. The most profitable part whereof, consisteth in mental Offices I K

**A** ces and Mortals. Onely by the Physickes we learne the nature of things, the Nature which natureth, and the Nature natur'd; the diuers qualities of them both: from whence those bodies are, which wee call elements, lightenings, thunder, fierie impressions, rairebow, tempests, earth-quakes, inundations of waters; from what naturall causes they proeede. Alto to bee skilfull in the Mathematickes: For he that neglecteth the Mathematicall arts, cannot bee a perfect Philosopher, as *Celius* thinketh: for they bee certaine degrees or elements, by which higher matters are attayned. Hence was it, that *Plato* did <sup>lib. 5. cap. 4. in</sup> call it, *Acumen cogitationis*, The quicke apprehension of mans thought; because it heaueth vp the mind, and sharpeneth that edge of intelligence, to-  
**B** wards the apprehension of diuine causes; and therefore *Fr. Patricius* suppo. <sup>lib. 2. de Inst.</sup> <sup>Reipub.</sup> seth, that this quadripartite art of the Mathematickes, (including Arithmetick, Geometrie, Musicke, and Astrologie) best befitteth a cluile magistrate: of the two first, *Jacobus Faber* writheth thus: *Inter eas artes (qua Mathematica Graci vocant) dua Arithmetica & Geometria pricipium sibi vendicant locum; quod ad eas a sequendas viam sternant*: Amongst those arts which the Greekes call Mathematickes, Arithmetick and Geometrie be principall: for so much as they make easie passage vnto the rest. For he which is ignorant in Arithmetick, can neuer prooue a skilfull Musician; neither can any man which hath not attained the knowledge in Geometricie, prooue perfect in that  
**C** inspective of Astronomicie: for vpon these two first parts those other couple depend. The reason also that *Plato* giueth (wherfore he would haue printes <sup>in Repub.</sup> skilfull in the Mathematickes) is, *Quod sunt quasi comites & administrat vires politici*: Being the companions and agents of a politcall person. First therefore concerning Arithmetick, which helpeth him to make vp his accounts of receipt and disbursement, when the bils and audite of the Treasurer and Exchequer are referred to his counters: of which art I shall haue some occasion in my fourth booke to speake somewhat; and in this knowledge *Pythagoras* was said to haue farre surmounted all the Philosophers of the world, according to that which *Ouid* the Poet writheth concerning him:

**D**

*Mente deos adiij; & (qua natura negantur  
Visibus humanais) oculis ea pectoris hauis.*

Being in effect thus much: By force of his mentall faculties hee did attaine a diuine knowledge, and with the eyes of his vnderstanding did perfectly comprehend that which was by nature concealed from mortall eyes.

**E** Geometric likewise conuerseth in the magnitude and proportion of things, wherein the famous Mathematician *Archimedes* was so skilfull; and by the helpe of those Geometrical engines which hee did devise, a long time re- strained *Marcellus* the Romane Captaine from victorie, when hee besieged <sup>Plutar. in vita Marcelli.</sup> that citie. And hence is this saying of *Salomon*, How God did dispose of all <sup>Sup. cap. 12.</sup> his creatures, according to number, measure, and weight.

Musicke (according to the course whereof the Pythagoritans did imagine that the world was composed; and the Mythologicall poets, that devised

nine Muses, because of the musicall consent of the eight coelestiall spheres, F. and of that one great continent called *Harmonie*, which includeth the *venues* of those other eight) is very profitable and pleasant. Howbeit, in my weake judgement, it may be better spared in a Counsellor, than her other three sisters, seruing more for ornament, than gouernment; albeit we find, that it keepeth a proportion by notes to delight the mind.

*Astrolog. 3.  
cap. 26. 1.*

Astrologic (being the fourth and noblest Mathematicall sister) is bipartite, according to *Isidorus*: in part naturall (when it is limited by courses of the Sunne and Moone, or according to those certaine and infallible motions of the starres and times) or superstitious, *Quam mathematici sequuntur, qui in illis augurantur, quique trium duodecim cali signa per singula animi vel corporis membra disponunt, sacerdotioque cursu natuitates hominum, & mores praedicare conantur, &c.* In which the Mathematicians take delight: for from them they derive their Auguries, disposing or placing through all the members of humane bodies the twelue signes of heauen, and endeouuring to make knowyne the natuuries and conditions of people, by course of the starres. Both Diuines and Philosophers consent, that this inferiour world is (according to the discretion and disposition of God) gouerned by the beauens: so that these inferior bodies are ruled and moued by power of the superior. And hence is that saying of *Aristotle*: *Necessarium mundum hunc inferiorem superioribus moribus esse contignum, ut omnis eius virius inde gubernetur*: It must of necessitie be, that this inferiour world neighboureth the superior powers and motions, to the end, the force and vertue thereof might bee gouerned, and disposed from aboue. To confirme this also, S. *Augustine* holdeth opinion: *Corpora haec grossiora regi aequi mouunt per corpora subtiliora*: That these out gruster bodies bee ruled and moued by force of those bodies which are more subtile. This art, as well for the rule of Nauigation (which proceedeth from knowledge of the celestiall bodies) as for those other secrets, issuing out of the mysticall indicials of the Mathematicians, is more precious to them that haue it, than any worldly felicitie: for so much as they commonly (which are possessed thereof) contemne all transitorie pleasures and glorie. Wherefore, that noble Poet *Virgil* concerning that nature of the Planets, writeth thus: I

*Georgic.*

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,  
In his agere metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum  
vixisse subiecti podibus.*

Being this in effect. Happie is he that comprehendeth the causes of things, and doth by diuine power subiect all feare and inexorable fate. Also *Inuenit* the Satyrist (concerning the beneuolence of the ascendent towards certaine persons, at certaine times, vnder his subiection) writeth: K

*Plus enim fata vales hora benigni  
Quam fata Veneris commendes epistola Marti.  
Bontem subiecti. Non potestis subiecti.*

*Fox*

A For the good houre of a benevolent fate auayleth more with all persons, than the commendatorie letters of *Venus* could euer haue preuayled with *Mars*. Howbeit, those that will certaintely judge of ensuing chaunces (though they be most studious and learned in this mystical part of Astrologic, which is called the Superstitious or Metaphysicall art) bee many times deceiued in their owne curiositie; according to the saying of *Thomas Aquine*: *Lices corpora caelestia habeant inclinationem, non tamen imponunt necessitatem: Et lices homo inclinatur secundum dispositionem corporis ad aliquod usum, tamen per rationem arbitrii, posset aliud facere*: Albeit the coelestiall bodies haue a kind of inclination to somewhat, yet they doe not impose a necessitie thereunto: and albeit persons encline (according to their corporeall disposition) to some vice, yet may they by the rule of their owne will decline from it: which to me seemeth a Theologicall paradox. Hence was it that *Socrates* excused the Philosopher, which (according to Physiognomie) condemned him of incontinence. Notwithstanding, sometimes they will (vpon their conjecturals) diuine very neare and oftentimes truly: for the confirmation whereof, I will cite one notable thing, which I did reade in *Cassianus* the Burgundian. To whome, beeing at supper with the *Confallionere diuinitatis in Milan* (vpon occasion in discourse) it was for a meere truth by diuerse affirmed, That a famous Astrologer in that citie had presaged to *Giovanni Galliaceo maria Visconti*, the fift Duke of that

B State, how he should be mortally wounded by some vassale about him: wherupon to the Duke, demaunding of his owne fate, his answere was: *My death must be publicke, by the fall of a piece of timber*. But the Duke willing to preudice or antiuert the fate (by some other suddaine death denounced against the Mathematician) gaue peremptorie sentence, That hee should loose his head, because he had entermeddled with the calculation of his natuurtie. And as he was conducted to the place of execution, from the port of a Tower vnder which he passed (called *Le Dome*) suddenly the top thereof fell downe, and he with a piece of timber had his braines crush: out: a multitude with the *Confallionere*, and other executioners in the companie, were by that ruine slaine

C also. Likewise, the Duke himselfe that same yeare vpon *Saint Stephens day* in the great Church of *San Stephano in Milan*, was by one of his slaves bloudily and cruelly butchered in the presence of many Noblemen, and others.

And now to coulde with the Morall force of Philosophie, which as *Plato* did esteeme, was the chiefest blessing in any Commonwealth; *When Philosophers were Kings, and Kings Philosophers*: For it teacheth the difference betwixt vertues and vices, what are the extremes of good and euill, how to rule priuate families, what authorities and offices belong to fathers, husbands, and snailors; the difference betwixt instruments, hauing life and liuitleſſe; the maintenance of priuate persons, the vertues and discipline of magistrates, the best formes of gouernement, the true meanes and knowledge to sustaine cities, beeing in danger of subuersion, and how with excellent lawes to rectifie them: Hence is it, that *Cicero* doth (in admiration and great loue thereof) proclaim in his questions *Tusculane*. *O Philosophie, the rule of life, the touch-stone of ver-*

*In to partem  
sabagi glor. mons  
diuina, 52.*

*sue, & amidore of vice.* But hereof haue I spokn more at large in the morals of these offices before. Wherfore he (which is fostered with that diuine *Manna*) sheweth himselfe the same in all parts of his life, contemning worldly treasures, abiding faithfull, appearing valiant in the Guard and loyall maintenance of truth, and armed with constancie, defieth feare; and these are the verie fruits of Phylosophy: such a man is not altered by time, deieected by necessitie, infected with insolence, nor wearied with the bad dealings of reprobate persons: such a counsellor doth liue well, and ynderstandeth well, which is a sure signe of sapience; he consulteth well, which is a principall point of prudence; and gladly would haue all well, which is a true token of iustice, adde herevnto his owne doing, which is a manifest marke of perseuerance. Such persons wholly relievpon their owne vertues, yeelding honour to such as are in grace with the prince, yet not committing any priuate secrets to their knowledge and iudgements. In all things they shew themselves circumspect, moderate, diligent, and discreet. G

There remaineth one speciall Cauet after all these obseruations for counsellors (which through their worthinesse and vertues haue attained a singular loue & affiance of their Prince, to be credited and vsed in all the most serious & important causes of the Commonwealth) which is; that, neither the great grace of their princes, nor the multitudes of honors and superiorities heaped vpon them; neither any vaine gaping vpon the popular aire (after which men growntie insolent vpon their greatnessse commonly breathe) drieve them into practises ambitious; which are through want of due pletie towards God and to their Soneraigne, without any season of iustice, or honestie commenced. Considering therefore first, what this pestilent and infernall fire is; because in many Commonwealths that hath oftentimes been the greatest enemy, which their owne countries wombe, and breasts hath bred and fostered, I will in some principles discover the detestable nature, members, and fruites of monstrous and ambitious persons, as they be lively declared at large by diuers, which haue scene humane sacrifices, and sepulchres overflowing with ciuill blood, and haue shewed how their late triumphant countries were sodaine-ly mangled, and betrayed through the wild-fire of vnnaturall wolues. H

*Arrelement, and  
pathetickall de-  
boration from  
all kyndes of  
treason.* This horriblie and vnnaturall appetite, is called, *Rabies quadam remoraria ambitionis, sibiens immodica gloria, prorsusque inflammatu perpetua quadam & singulari cupiditate dominandi.* A certayne woltiish rage of rash ambition, immoderately thirsting after vndeserned glory; and violently flaming out in all partes, with a kinde of endlesse and singular greedinesse of domination and empere. Many noble natures (adulterated with this counterfeit of honour) haue been falsified and corrupted with diabolickall furies, which though that prouident Consill of *Utopia*, calleth *vitium virtutis propius*, A vice cozen germane to vertue; yet segmenth not sauing in hypocriticall sence, for somuch as that qualitie teacheth men (as he saith) *Aliud clausum in pectore, aliud promponit in linguis habere*, To conceale his meaning close within his heart, and to deliuer a contrary matter with his tongue. This pestilent seuer of the minde, proceedeth from riches in great abundance allotted vnto men, *Quibus neque malus neque* K

**A** *neque modestia cordis est.* Which take no pleasure either in mediocritie; or modestie. For luxurie (when with pride & auarice it posseseth the spirits of intemperate & green-headed folkes) doth draw perlons of immoderate & fierie stomacks into want of maintenāce, throg their own negligence; & so by such their improuidence, into dangerous attempts against their owne perlons, and against the whole bodie of the Commonwealth. Also these are they, which (hauing fallen from their former reputation by their owne misgouernance) waxe intollerable through that discontentment, which continually tosseth their fierie spirites with a most insatiable thirst, and ambitious desire of domination & soueraigntie. These are they, which with the eyes of Basilisks

**B** peirce into the benefits of times, places, & persons, oftentimes poisoning and deceiuing themselues: these are they which with a false iudgement, and opinion had of their owne plots, actions, partisanes, & conspiracies (wherein they flatter their owne hearts) wilfully betray themselues to confusion and calamitie: these men hath God in his diuine power blinded, and deprived of those faculties by which men commonly discerne all apparant & grievous punishments, that are reserued against such firebrands by the lawes & equitie: these are they which continually violate iustice, and that (which is a most lamentable truth) such persons haue not any sunshine of reason lent vnto them, to see that foule turpitude and shame, which inseperably *tanquam umbra*, like sha-

**C** dowes waite vpon their dishonourable actions: their minds are deceitfull, subtil, variable, hypocriticall, and couetous of other mens goods, prodigall of their owne, burning in lust, alwayes malicious, neuer quiet, more tongue then witte, more witte then wealth, more wealth then wisdome, more wisdome then honestie; and yet poore, imprudent, giddie-headed, talkatiue, a vaste minde, aspiring to degrees & dignities, beyond all iust opinion & measure. The seeds of sedition being vpon such plots, grounds, & natures sowne, sprout foorth into the blades of rebellion: first, when the noble sort of magistrates or peers in a Commonwealth peruerit their power into pride; and when the common people (whose licence is the viue embleme of confusion)

**D** turne their liberties into lust, at which time all disordered persons catch, statch and oppresse iustice. Their mother the Commonwealth like a woman violated, prostituted, and defamed with her garments rent, her haire disheuelled and foltred, her face disfigured and blubbred, standing or rather falling betwixt them both in this mutinie, suffereth torture & distraction, the noble men depending vpon parties, and the multitude leaning to what factions they list, the chiefe heads and ringleaders of which commotions and seditious factions, falling from great, honor, & from their princes fauour through condigne disgrace into discontentment, presently trauaile their wits horribly to disturbance or diabolically roote vp the publike State; in whose sight for that time iustice & magistracie be held in great scorne and disdaine. Vnto them of this distemperature all foolish people, rag and ragge mixt of diuers qualities (infenced with pouertie, lust, and couetousnesse, tossed & disturbed in conscience with their impious, and nefarious deuises and practises, such as hold dis-sentio[n] to be their sweetest ease, and garboyles their happiest peace; which

P

heape

heape tumult vpon tumult, hurliment vpon burliment) are coparteners F and competitors in their ambition; such as being neither with glorie nor shame moued, prepaire themselues to strangle that Common-wealth which gaue them life and light. The traps, the nets, the snares of cruell malice, of treasonable conspiracies, and of extreame wickednesse erected for slaughter of their best and most honest countrie men; pitched to make a spoyle of their wealth, and wouen against the common peace of their nation, are infinite and inefable: the Commonwealth it selfe as a bloody shambles of infamous ciuill murther, is by these means exposed to the slauish oppression of auaricious and barbarous strangers. These nefarious firebrands of malecontentment, and meteors of ciuill mischiefe (studying nothing so much as to become excellent, & beyond the comparatiue apprehension of malice, before their first charge or onset) will make all things in the most readinesse for such a miserable tide of calamitie. They therfore, euen as it is witten of *Casiline*, diue into the natures, humors, & inclinations of noble yong gentlemen, liberally and prodigally disposed; for some according to their delights they prouide whores, for some horses and dogges; armes for these of a more heroycall condition, and haukes for those; vsing all vile means, and abusing their owne fortunes and modestie, that they might draw yong Gentlemen vnskilfull and of tractable natures, into their horrible actions, to ruine themselues in the oppression and confusion of their Countrey. Such was the nature of *Cæsar Borgia* (whom *Nicholas Machiauelli* remembreth vpon the like termes) when he conspired against the *Orsini* and *Colonna*. Those therefore that would liue magnificently or delicately, with such as delight in hazard, & they that prefer warre before peace, are for these actions. The first action of conspiracie therefore commonly tendeth to the cutting off, and extirpation of those by whom the Commonwealth and publique peace is sustained: as *Piso* and *Autronius*, *qui parabant in Capitolio Lucium Torquatum, & Lucium Cossam Coss. interficere*. Which were prepared, and resolued to murther *Lucius Torquatus*, and *Lucius Cossus* the two Consuls in the Capitoll. So did *Brutus* and *Cæsarius* with others oppresse *Cæsar*, with their short daggers in the Capitoll. So did the mutinous H *Guyfians* deale with that noble Admirall of *France*, *Gaspar de Coligni*: *An. 1572*.

*In his gall.*

For the first signall or watche stroke to euery seditious commotion or insurrection, is the slaughter of some one notable good man in great authoritie, as *Caius Cornelius*, and *Lucius Vargunteius* noble patricians, villanously combined in that treasonable conspiracie with *Casiline*. *Constituere cum armatis hominibus (sicus salutariū) introire ad Ciceronē, ac de improviso domi sue imparatum confodere*: They were prouided with men in armes, to come into the chamber where *Ciceronē* was in his owne house, vnder the colour of salutation, and instantly to stabbe him before he could suspect them; *Cerhegus* being appointed captaine of that guard, which should haue attended without the doores of his house. I could glie more late & familiar examples, as he which readeth and conferreth these, may very well be brought to remember euen in the same nature, and of the like fashion: but I say with *Ciceronē*, *Externa libenter us hac in re quam domestica recordor*: In these cases I more willingly record for-I raine

A raine then domesticall examples. For the conference of causes, and heads of the like plots and conspiracies with their euent and issues will rub vpon their remembrance. After this the curiouſt marshalling, ordering, and disposing of their euill disposed and disordered complices ; as places, streetes, and quarters appointed to be spoyle, or guarded by this captaine, & that rebel for their pillage, and to be mantled and defaced with so many terrible traitours in armes: ſome to ſurprise ſuch ſtrong peeres, and noble perſons ; ſome to guarde places poſſeſſed and taken ; others to ſpoile and make waste of all good things round about them. Their nefarious captaines impioſtly darting thofe vertues and graces (giuen vnto them by God, and headed with the venomous forkes of ambition and malice) vpon the naked breastes of their native contries ;

B whose minds (inceſſantly troubled) breath fourth in pestilent ſighes, in horribble execrations, in blaſphemous oathes, and in vaineſlorious incenſes, a ſudden death againſt all good men. For their hearts (being enraged, and as it were drunken with ſtrange and violent wrath and feritie) eate, and hauocke vp the peace of their contrimen with incredibile immanitie : they thirſt extremely for ciuill blood ; greedily gaping for a generall ſpoyle, menacing ſword and fire without any mercy to the bodies and families of their owne faſhers and contrimen. The principall conſpirator, and archtraitor (being like Sathan totally composed of craft and conuulfion (and ſo by nature able to conciliate & auctuate the friendſhips & good willes of men ; and being guileful-ly gotten, to deale with them as trecherously) ſeemeth very munificent and prodigal of gifts and treasure; howbeit moſt rauenous in auarice of other mens poſſeſſions, preſent in counſell, and hatefull in all temeritie. These are they which open the prisons, letting loofe the wolues, beares, and foxes, of the Commonwealth out of their chaines : which furiously reioyce and exult (as on the deuils eaſt day) to ransacke honest mens houses, and to keepe a bloody triumph in the defaced ſtreetes. Before them their captaine (as vpon a tragical ſtage made of muſther and of dead bodies, a man reſolute and ſteeled in thoughts and actions of ſpight, and ſmoaking ſlaughter of his owne contrimen) calleth, and commandeth ſome of his Canniballes to feede vpon the flesh, and to drinke the blood of ſuch noble perſons, and of others in the place of high magistracie : ſome he commandeth vnto the ſpoyle and ſacke of houſes ; many to ſet fire, and to lay waste ſuch ports, baſtilles, and noble fortrefſes, fenced againſt them : matrons, and wiues being torne from their husbands embracemēnts become wofull ſubiects of their infatiate luſtes ; widowes left naked of all wealth and comfort, both of them lamentably ſubiected to their bloody weapons : young maidens, and daughters wrung from their parents boſomes, rauished, polluted, and violated with villanous abomination: their

C moſt precious iewels openly carried in their ſight away from them, which lie bound and pitteouſly wounded, without hope of any recouerie ; round about houſes burning ; and carcaſes ſome mortally wounded, diuerſe breathleſſe, and all wallowing in blood : others lying in the high-wayes and ditches, inmantled ouer and staunched full with humane bodies ; finally no noyſe but of muſthers woundes teares claſhing of weapons, breaking vp of doores,

D

E

grones and outcries ; with the mortall lamentations of fathers, men, old wiues, women, and children. Behold here the bloody scene of sedition, which euen nature abhorreth to behold, and reason shuddereth to consider; can any thing be more flagitious vpon earth, then to bestow that life which our owne contrey breathed into our bodies, by the sufferance of God vnto the ruine and calamitie thereof vtterly repugnaunt to the will of God? or can any thing bee thought of more abhominable, then to devise the torture & seruitude of them whom the same lawes and fashions of life haue included within the same limits, liberties, and houses with vs? Certaine it is therefore which *Ciceron* noteth out of *Dic aarchus* the Peripatetike. *Homines hominum impetu plures deleri*; *ide est bellis & seditionibus &c. quam reliqua calamitate*. More men by the violence of men (which is by warre, seditions, and rebellious treasons) are wasted, then with any other calamitie. And hence is that prouerbe. *Homo homini lupus, homo homini Deus*. A man is a wolfe amongst men: and a god vnto men. For in a noble and good action against forreine oppressors of our friends or of our liberties, it is a dutifull piety that contrimen combine in armes: howbeit to rise vp in rage one against another is more then brutish; & therfore *Ciceron* concludeth thus, *homines hominibus plurimi profum, & obfum*. Men are very beneficiall, and offensiuе vnto men. If into any such impious & horrible practises, or coniurations (either by faction, feare, or affectiō) any noble counsellor should be drawen; let him assure himselfe that the second punishment besides that fearefull danger of the first is most intollerable, & I had almost said inexpiable. Euery right noble and vertuous counsellor therefore will labour, (as *Ciceron* writereth) to deliberate in such cases, whether they should wittingly become honest, in auoyding that which they know to be reasonable; or whether they shoule wilfully become wicked in the toppe of traytorie. For they be deemed impious and abhominable which make a question thereof: *In ipsa namque dubitatione facinus inest etiam si ad id non peruenierint*. For in the combate or doubt within a man whether he shoule commit treason or not, there is a foule sinne: althoough the plot thereof take not effect. And herein is the very thought of conceiued treason (thoough it be not put in practise) made hainous and damnable. A right noble and truely wise counsellor therefore, *Non modo facere, sed ne cogitare quidem quicquid audeat, quod non audeat praedicare*. Not onely dare not put in execution: but also dare not harbour a thought of such things, as shad not with his safetie to speak openly. For if he were possessed with that ring which *Plato* mentioneth, by which *Gyges* going invisible became king of *Lydia*, hauing power to do what he list: yet wold his wisdom & honestie restraine him from all violence. And therefore *Ciceron* vseth this sentence, *Honestia bonis viris non occultaperuntur*. Good men delight in open honestie, not in hidden practises. But I deeme how no truely-noble nature can be so farre debauched or corrupted, vnlesse by flatterers and malicious minyons, to whom for the most part great spirits are most addicted. But those which are of such hot and violent natures, be grieuous dissemblers and temporizors, vntill such time as opportunitie may fitly serue them, to the weltering and ouertuning of states: for let a Prince aduance to place of high dignitie men of those dispositions, *he*

A he shall presently finde their conditions : *Magistratus namque virum indicat.* and according to *Salust.* *Difficillimum est illis in potestatisbus temperare, qui per ambitionem se se probos simulacra.* It is very difficult for men to beare good temper in authoritie, which (to further their ambition) haue counterfeited themselues honest.

B Diuers men of Nobily likewise haue through some melancholike suggestion, by reading of of Hystories written to good purpose and example, falne into these extremities : *Omnia namque mala exempla ex bonis initij sorta.* For all bad examples are bred out of good beginnings. When wicked men (seeking to attaine soueraigntie by the oppresyon of good soueraignes) perueit the good example of true, renowned, and vertuous Princes; which more counting their countries libertie, then their priuate dignitie, did supprese tyrannous usurpers. Howbeit, we may read of some noble Gentlemen, which haue been drawne into treason against their Prince and countrey, through consanguinitie, faction, or affection of parties; and some through a mortall lincke of amitie, which tieth or combineth them to the treason of some archtraitors, vpon some greiuous ground of discontentment conceiuied against the Prince, or against some of his neerest friends in counsell : yet if these Doues should chance to fall into those nets amongst Crows, it were great pitie they should vndergo legall censure if they would be penitent and become loyall, hauing any specious tokens and appearance of good nature, desert &

C faculties to benefit their countries in aftertime; as hath appeared by manifold examples of diuers gracious Princes; & amongst others by *Henry du Bourbon,* the French kings late pardon vnto the royll Bastard of *Anvergne,* who was confederated in treason with the Marischall *Byron* : For to cut off many Nobles together (after the head be taken away, when any good hope of ensuing grace remaineth by the rest aliue, as some men thinke) were merely superfluous; but of this point I purpose to speake somewhat in my third Booke, as occasion will offer. Yet in these cases, Princes should proue very circumspect Philosophers, in sounding and measuring the natures and inclinations of their ministers, rewarding, cherishing, disgracing, and disliking those, and these as vpon good grounds to their wisedoms shall seeme inost fit; and when any such seditious and turbulent actions haue taken fire, then behoueth it them, and all other noble magistrates, *Operam strenue dare ne quid res publica detrahatur et capiat.* Stoutly to labour, that the Commonwealth may not be by those meanes prejudiced. Whereas the very best way to crosse, and conuince all ambition and sedition is by their contraries, which are good artes, true vertues, and apparent justice : and these (if any noble Magistrate shall exercise them) will clearely purge all those pestilent and contagious humours.

D It is written in the life of the Emperour *Titus* : how when diuers which did conspire his death, with the confusion of that Empire, were brought prisoners vnto him, his speech vnto them was thus : *Videsisne potestas fasa dari? fraterque facinus tentari patrandi spe, vel amittendi metu?* Perceiue you not now that principalities and powers are fatally distributed? and that mortall men, in vaine attempe hainous practises, either in some hope by the effecting of them,

or in a feare of failing or miscarrieng in their ensignements? For sure it is, that traitors & seditious rebels, are prouided by Gods ordināce as his rods & scourges of discipline and indignation, to worke out his will amongst many Nations and people; but more certaine it is that they cannot affiict, torture, or preuaile more then is permitted by that hand which directeth them: but most sure, certaine, and true this is; that commonly these sharpe rods of rebellion, are made of thornes and brambles, destined to such ende as hangemen and condamned persons, which are made executioners of others. Needfull hath God in his wisedome seene, that there should be treasons, but woe be to those that execute them: it had been good for them, that they never had quickened in the seed of man. For no sooner hath the father punished his children with those vngacious twigges, but in a tender compassion he casteth them into the fire, and some-times burneth the rod before it be vsed; because his wrath shall not continue still against his, which if a little while it might endure (after once it were kindled) what mortall man were able to brooke the smart thereof?

*Vides ap. 17.  
princ. Dic. Ma-  
chianus.*

There is one ambitious rule, which the Machiuvillian politicks haue taught to colour their wickednesse, according to that saying out of *Enripiides* cited by *Cicero* from the mouth of *Caius Cesar*: *Nam si violandum est ius, reguandi gratia violandum est: alijs rebus pietasem colas*. For if men wil violate iustice, the violation therof ought to proceed from the hopes or fruition of soueraignetie, which may depend theron; in all other things (sauing in matters of Empire) let a man declare pietie. But the wilful Philosophers teach vs, that it is base and vulgar to thirst after soueraignetie; meaning, that ambition cannot seazevpon a verie noble and magnanimous heart. Besides royll burthen is accompanied with a most seruile vexation, care, cowntinuall feare, with treason, & perill. Hence was it that *Aecius the Comedian* concluded how few princes were honest and fairfull, either because no princes in his time did beare any soueraignetie but tyranns: or else because hee deemed in his vaine opinions, that without some sinister and crooked meanes, kings could not retaine their principalities; which *Cicero* to this effect distinguishest, as if the Comedian had onely ment it by licencious, and tyrannous kings whose ends are commonly like their governements. Such were the ancient tyrans of *Greece* that durst not come abroad out of their pallaces; least some good man in killing of them might emancipate the Commonwealth. And hence was it which we may read of *Thales Meletus*, who deemed it impossible, that tyranns should liue vntill were old, according to this of the Poet *Inuenall*.

*Offic. 3.*

*Ad generum Cereris sine cade & vulnera pauci,  
Descedunt reges, & siccā morte Tyanni.*

Few tyrannous kings end their liues naturally; but by slaughter, wounds, or treason. Moreouer, it is most certaine, that a vertuous and honest spirit deemeth it a great burthen to be a king; the glorie wherof cannot couteruaile the tenth part of the miserie which adioyneth it: were it not therefore the imposition of God, & that they dare not withstand the diuine iunction and commision

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## The second Booke of Offices.

111.

A commission of the most highest; who iustly calleth many princes to sit vpon his seate, and to judge the people on earth, I perswade my selfe that diuers would haue refused or resigned their iust inheritances of kingdomes vpon such considerations. Howbeit many good men lawfully called (such as *Numa Pompilius*, & *Heluius Pertinax* haue voluntarily renounced and resigned vp their estates: according to that saying of *Cicerio*, *Mulsi sunt & fuernus qui trans qualitatem expensas a negotijs publicis se remouerunt*; & in his nobilissimi Philosophi, principes, hominesque feneri. Many great Philosophers, princes, and graue persons are and haue bene; which in their loue of tranquilitie, resigned all their publike reputations, and offices.

B But to proceed in my discourse, certaine it is as I said, that men naturally *be so much the more ambitious or ready to take hold of that poison, how much the more they be fortunate*: onely malicious flatterers, such as haue put vpon their hearts that vicious habite of speaking and soothing men vp in all things plausible vnto them; ytching their eares with painted hopes; kindling discontentment in them against other great persons & fellow counsellors neere their soueraigne, hatch ambition in the hands and hearts of them which haue alwayes bene busied in mighty matters; ministring some salt cause of vnsatiable heat and thirst of reuenge against their peers; vpon some vnperfect grounds plotted and leuelled by their turbulent and malicious heads and hearts. And this out

C of their spightfull humours (tending intirely to the alteration, ruine, and spoyle of their countrinem) is set abroach, as in a late counsellour and peer of this land too plainly was seene, which occasioned his ouerthrow. Credulitie before touched is a meane to moue these perturbations: which neuer can happen to that counsellor, whose actions and consultations are honorably directed in the true feare of God, and of his prince: who will not permit any trust of such matters where the vulgar beareth standard, vpon whose force and faith relying diuers princes and potentates haue mainely miscaried with losse of their states and liues, and some also by pertaking with them in their vnperfect quarels; which leaning vpon their succours aimed at such dignities as

D neither were preordained nor fit for them: for they be variable, giddie headed, *Salus in bellis*, *Ingenitis*, full of discord, couetous of innovation, and enemies to peace and tranquilitie. And therefore that most learned and noble poet *Scalliger* addeth his suffrage to this opinion very fitly in these words.

*Qui pender ab errore & opinione vulgi  
Pender magis, atque arbore qui pender ab alia.*

E He which dependeth vpon the error and opinion of the vulgar, holdeth more nicely then he which doth hang ready to fall from the highest branch of a talltree. Most of which (being enraged with a lust of Innouation) would willingly strangle themselues in the throat of the Commonwealth: & though they partake with traitors and highly fauour the treason, yet if they finde it once displayed and boulted out, (for their hearts are prone to tumult) then will they presently curse him that marshalled them in their treasons; shewing themselves

themselves most forward in apprehension, and punishing of him and of his F followers. And if their Arch-captaine in that commotion or sedition be taken, or if his practises be frustrated, it hath beene alwayes noted that they then begin most vehemently to command him, which is & was his greatest aduersarie, whom doubtlesly they would (had fortune other wise turned) haue miserably massacred and slaughterred: declaring (like apparant Camelions which turne colour with euery die) great gladnesse in their feasts, and bonefyers; as if they were deliuered from that seruitude, which like faint-hearted hypocrites and tame seruitors they first desired, & hunted for. The like example was seen amongst those rabble of the Romanes which <sup>did</sup> partake with *Caryline*, so long as his treasons tooke good head: but when he grew weake and remediless; G then, *Muraramente Caryline consilia execrari*; *Ciceronem ad calum tollere ceperunt*. The case being altered, they with execrations condemne the counsell of *Caryline*; extolling *Cicero* to the hauens. It is therefore found great weakenesse in wise men, to trust vnto the rude, ignorant, and vndisciplined multitude; and he which is instructed in morall Phylosophy, will neuer put affiance in them, vnlesse it be where their Captaine is the best man in field, and where they must either fight like men, or die like dogs without resistance. For by Phylosophy men are taught (as I said before) to know themselves, and how to measure and master their owne force. Example of this is recorded of the *Gracchi*, & of *Sparius Melius*. For though it be (as was before said) commendable and necessarie for vertuous counsellors to regard, and make sute for dignities and preferments at their princes hands, whose faithfullnesse, diligence, and generall good deserit, worthily may require the same: so doth it without all doubt import the contrary, when they by wicked means would aspire to soueraigntie: which happeneth commonly through neglect of Gods worship, and contempt of their liege soueraigne: none of which as it is generally found in all writers of Histories or Chronicles, haue long enjoyed that, which by such impious and vniust meanes hath been catched; and most of them perished in the beginnings and executions, which with some examples I thinke it a thing not impertinent to confirme. *Agathocles the Sicilian*, I sonne to a Potter, through his malicious quicknesse & subtleties, attained by fauour of the *Syracusians*, first to bee made their Pretor: and after (through helpe of his friend *Amilchar*, Generall of an armie which then serued in *Sycill*, with whom he conspired) hunting ambitiously for the soueraigntie power of that State, at a signall giuen, diuers armed persons sodainly rushing out in a chamber, where the principals vnder the pretext of serious consultation were assembled, slaughterred the Citizens and Senators, wherby he became prince of that State. After that precedent, *Olynerotto di Fermo* by treacherous murther of his Uncle *Giovanni Fogliani*, and of the *Fermanes*, became prince of *Fermo*: who by the Commande of *Cesar Borgia*, then Generall of his father Pope *Alexander* the sixt, his forces by traine vnder the like trust of consultation with *Orsino Baglioni* Prince of *Perugia*, & others was imprisoned and strangled. *Lodovik Sforza* Duke of *Milane*, by usurpation hauing imposioned his Nephew *Giovanni Galliacio*, did aspire to that principallitie which some K did

A did suppose, was a great cause of the myghte and servitude of *Francia*, with infinite other calamities: which as *Francia* Gaillard be written, happeid vpon it in Christendome, whose whole race was extinct not long after: now as to  
 I will not omit that which is yet fyll in our late Chronicles, and hath been many times represented vnto the vulgar vpon our English Theatres, of *Richard* *Plantagenet*, third sonne to *Richard* Duke of *York*, who (being eldest brother next succeling to King *Edward* the fourth) as he had shad naturally made away his elder brother, *George* Duke of *Gloucestre* (whom he thought a grieuous eyre sore betwixt him and the marke at which he deuised) did vpon death of the King his brother, take vpon him protection of this  
 B Realme, vnder his two Nephewes left in his brotherly mariage with which he caused at once to be smothered together within a kynge of his Majesties Tower, at *London*: which ominous bad lodging in memoriall thereof, is to this day knowne, and called by name of *shamboldy Tower* vpon, this odious Uncle vsurped the crowne, but within a litle space then two yeeres was deposed, & confounded in the Battell at *Bosworth* in *Leycester shire*: 1485. by King *Henry* the seventh, sent by God to make restituicn of the peoples liberties; and aft: r so long and durable a shewer of civill blodd, to send a golden sun-shine of peace, closed vp in the plentochie leathes of that sweete & modest Rose of *Lanapster*, which being wonne in the beauteous thronem of Land  
 C *Elizabebh* the daughter of King *Edward* (late mentioned of the Family of *York*) dispersed those seditious cloudes of warre which had a long time ob-scured our sumerian of peace, banishing that sulphurous shoke of thence-ly deuised Cannon, with the divine odour of that blessed Inoculation of Roses: yeelding by their sacred vniōn the Lady *Margaret*, the first flower of that coniunction; and great Grand-mother (as I declared) to our Soueraignes Maiesie, in these happy bodyes raigning ouer vs: whose blessed raigne, I beseech God to lengthen as the dayes of heauen.

Henry Duke of *Goufe*, father to this yong Duke now liuing in *Francia*, aspiring couertly to that greatness, which neither his birth nor conscience (albeit well guarded by the Church of *Rome*) could assur him, fell in the very bowels of his ambition vnder that guard, which if he could, should have been spectators of their Soueraignes tragedie. *Charles du Lorreyne*, likewise Duke *du Mayne*, and brother to that Duke of *Goufe* (after that he had many yeeres waged warre against his naturall Soueraigne *Henry of Barbol*, now the fourth French King of that name) and had vsurped the titles, coynes, crowne; and royalties of that Realme, which he then miserably tortured, holding his diege Lord at the pikes point in most hostile defiance, was at length shamefully put to flight: in restoring of which vngratefull Duke to his office of *Le grand Chambellane du France* (though it was done by mightie means and mediation)

E the king liuing hath declared much clemencie, The late successe of *Marischall Byran* in *Francia*, for practizing against the crowne and life of his Soueraigne, with the faction of Spaine, being so fresh in our memories by the ran-some of that capitall treason (with his head, which payd it) need not to be much stood vpon.

Q

Neither,

## The second Booke of Offices.

Neither those ambitious conspiracies of the Earle *Gourey* in *Scotland*, a-  
gainst his Highnesse sacred life, miraculously protected and preserued by God  
for the weale and gouernment of his people. Adde herevnto the late practi-  
ces of our ynworthy Gentlemen of *England*, against his annoynted Maisticie;  
whose mercy doth yet appeare much great, as were their treasons. By these  
and other examples, infinite of that nature appeareth how needfull it is, that  
Magistrates in such place have great care and feare of falles, when they seeke  
to scale flipperie promotions beyond their reach: which are onely bestow-  
ed by divine prouidence, and not any wayes disposed by humane policies.  
This also did the diuine *Scalliger* obserue in his advise to such ambitious fire-  
brands, which after th' eruption of a fewe turbulent sparkes, soone and on a **G**  
sudden ende in cold, and dead embers.

*Cetero modis et in misericordia probando: tollit temeritatem.*  
*Ne scandale locis equibus in die seruendum.*

By good proofoe and experience leue to moderate thy selfe: seeke not to  
clime vnto such places from whence thou must haue a fall.

Beware therefore of this fearefull elation of the spirit, towards corporall  
promotions and benefits: and if griefe or discontentment vpon good ground  
seaze vpon vs, let vs arme our selues with constancie to beare and to conuert **H**  
all wrongs and tribulations, into the practise and vse of vertues: by which  
meanes we shall so charme all dolours and perturbations, that they can haue  
no power to brande or torture vs. Adde hereunto this precept of Master  
*Francis Gassciardine*, that counsellors in weightie matters shew deliberation and  
flownesse of tongue and foote: the enstome of their seruice fed with the bi-  
ter hearbe patience (which bringeth peace at the last) should so farre preuaile  
with them in most causes; that the more wrongs they receiue at their Princes  
hands, the more patience and dutie they should declare.

This, least I become more tedious then pleasant or profitable to the Rea-  
der, I think sufficient concerning the principal qualities and offices in a coun-  
sellor: many more severally might be recounted, howbeit as adiuncts or de-  
pendancies vnto these before specified. And some fewe which herein are ex-  
pressed, will make a man honourable, and esteemed according to that say-  
ing of *Salust*, *Multa variaque sunt artes animi quibus summa claritudo compa-  
sur*: Herein, not presumptuously nor ouer weaningly, to limit men in wise-  
dom and authoritic, so far beyond my censure and aboue my degree, to such  
things which proceed from my weake and vnripe opinions; but to giue a me-  
thodicall taste of my iudgement, grounded vpon the sound opinions of men  
prudent and very learned, consofing in sweete *Harmonie*, with the Lawgi-  
uers, Commonwealths-masters, and prudent Philosophers of former ages. In  
them for my part resting well satified: & yet with such due respect as by sub-  
mitting my selfe in all reuerence and humilitie to the sounder iudgements ap-  
proved wisedomes, and gentler corrections of men learned and experienced  
in offices of state with a decent obedience and readinesse, I doe desire to bee  
**I**  
**K**  
both

A both instructed better, and reformed in any point, which their wisedomes shall deeme expedient herein. To conclude therefore in opposition to them that haue violently and sodainly, fallen from the throne of soueraigntie by their ambition; with such as merely by their vertues haue been aduanced, and established kingdoms in their long succeeding posteritie, through many generations. I will speake somewhat as well for their encouragement which are verely noble; as for the reformation of those that are proude, abiect, & ambitious. Hee which deserueth well, and laboureth in the common cause of his Countrey with iustice and sinceritie, may worthily seake for condigne prefelment at the Prince his hands: for if euery laborer merith wages, what doth he which incessantly busieth himselfe in procuring, ayding, and maintaining the peace and riches of the Common-wealth? *Magna namque cura magna merces est*: The reward is great which appertaineth to a great charge: as *Salust* in his Oration to *Cesar*. This care and zealous desire to dignifie that Nation which gaue the first light to his life, is the perfectest token of a good Counsellors vertue. *Virtusque perfecta non fieri condignus honor*; Perfect vertue cannot be sufficiently honoured; saith *Aristotle*. And according to *Parriculus*, *Ethicorum. 8.* *Virtus semper secum comitem habet honorem; velut corpus umbram, landas aquam crescit*: Virtue is continually accompanied with honor; as the body is with a shadow, and florisheth by good fame. Nay, the most kindely milke which nourisheth vertue is honor. And as *Aristotle* writeth in another place; *Homines dij dicuntur propter virtutum excellensiam &c.* Men (in respect of their vertues excellencie) be called Gods. What then? shall we study therefore to become honourable, nay, rather monstrous and abominable, by the corruption and brutish appetite of vice and confusion? For euен as it is written, that *he which killeth with the sword, shall perish therwih*: (which is meant by murtheres, that either fall vnder the spirituall or ciuill sword of Gods iustice, or of the Kings) so certaine is it, that he which studieth innouation, disorder, and confusion (through the secret rage of his owne ambitious malice and greedinesse) shall vterly be confounded.

If therefore we should endeouour to recount the numbers of them, that in D this fuious spirit of *Lucifer* haue perished; it were infinite, and vnpossible. In contrary, let vs call to remembrance such vertuous men, as from meane estate (through their owne honesties) haue attained great dignities, aud principallities: we shall finde their number exceede any common Register. Howbeit, one hundred vicious and ambitious persons, haue in all Ages appeared by proportion (ifa man may so terme it) for one halfe of a vertuous man. Vertue was it which first aduauced *Saul* frō keeping of Asses, to be king in *Israe*. *Regum 1. cap. 9.* What was it which raised *Dauid* the yongest of *Iesse* eight children, from keeping of sheepe to sit vpon King *Saul* his throne? was it not his vertuous disposition and inclination; as it appeared when God spake to *Samuel*: saying, *that he had found a man after his owne heart*: commanding the Prophet to raire himselfe and annoiint *Dauid*, for that was he? By verue *Tullus Hostilius*, a poore Neat-heard, of obscure and vnownowne parentage, raigned ouer the *Romans*. *lib. primus. cap. 1.* By such vertue *Ventidius Basbus* (in high fauour with *Cayus Cesar*) who was a poore

poore mans sonne, and had bene a mulettter was first made *Tribune* of the people, after that *Pretor*, then *Archbishop*, & lastly *Consull*: wherupon that libell was cast out in spight of vertue (which hath alwaies many persecutors) *mules qui fricabat, consul factus est*; in my iudgement wholy tending to the honour of *Bassus*; and vnto the perpetuall glory of those noble Romanes which (with out any superficiall respect vnto the shadow) precisely looke into the substance. So did *Telephantes*, first a wheelewright become king of the Lydians. *Tamerlane* of a neat-heard made in short time Emperour of the Turkes and Persians. *Valensimianus* (whose father was a ropemaker) elected Emperour of the Romanes: semblably *Darius*, *Archilaus*, with others infinite priuate persons and Philosophers were in regard of their vertues preferred to kingdomes & principalities. Let therefore vertue be the pure substance of our actions and consultations; for it commaundeth by the force of a more then worldly spirit, all earthly promotions and blessings: considering how sapience and vertue be called the grounds by which man is resembled vnto God. G

It resteth now that I declare the bodily tokens and complections which are obserued by some special writers in choise of a counsellor: for as in al weighty matters, it is evident amongst wise men, that great judgement and obseruatiōn is vsed; so should it appeare much rather in a matter of such speciaill importance as this is; for so much as vpon these counsellors the wealth and health of princes and principalities depend. By these exterior properties, much may be gathered of the interior faculties before declared (as *Ceriolano* thinketh) albe-  
it they doe not hold generally certaine; for coniecturals are as notes or signes, which may sometimes deceiue; and yet not to be rejected neither: For (as *Aristotle* and other Philosophers write) their are markes and accidents or signes in mens bodies figuring their priuate affections. In some beautifull persons, there is a kind of venerable maiestie. A comely countenance and pleasing face, greatly graceth a counsellor; yeelding good correspondence to his dignitie. Hence was it that *Socrates* did preferre before all others beautifull persons to the studies of Philosophie; supposing that this outward pulchritude did represent to life the picture of diuine beautie. And albeit sometimes within a fower countenance, a most beautifull nature is planted, and a right excellent knowledge, mind, and judgement within a bodie not absolute in composition and membrature; yet is it very rare to be seene: and how much the more rarely such persons are found, so much more excellent and rare, are their interior vertues & perfections, if we compare them with others in their natures, being intended here to that beautie, which *Cicero* doth ascribe vnto dignitie and not to comely colour: considering how the true pulchritude is interior; whereas in effeminate and affected beautie nothing is absolute. For if we consider it, Nature her selfe being prouided of a competat force, placeth her most arte and studies in fashioning of the braine, which (as I said) is the principall seate of our reasonable soule. And hence it is, that some men which in other members seeme foule and deformed, yet prooue to bee most prudent and of admirable fine wits. It was written by diuers Hystorians, that amongst barbarous and wilde people, the visible beautie was had in much admiration. H I K

*Gellius lib. 15. cap. 4.*

*Petrus Bergo  
mensis lib. 14  
Cron. 5.*

A admiration and honour : and therefore was great *Alexander* despised by the Queene of *Amazons*, because in so puissant a prince she found not so pleasing a comeliness, as in her fantasie was thought that a man of such a famous and exceeding valor and victories should haue, the report of which moued her to visite him, as Queene *Saba* did *Salomon*, who was angellicall both in exterior and interior pulchritude. The complection therefore of such a magistrate should be temperate, either sanguine, or chollerike : for such persons commonly be sharpe witted, of a sound iudgement, and durable quicke memorie: they be iust, affable, faithfull, beneficent, magnificent, magnanimious, strong, valiant, & well attempered with alacritie, agilitie, and health of bodie; if their natures be not with bad custome depraved or corrupted. The spirits of persons melancholike are dried vp, and earthie; rude, heauie, vaine, detesting honorable thoughts, malicious, superstitious, suspitious, envious, ful of sorow, vexation, and contumely; how much more in age, so much lesse in knowledge. Neither are flegmatike persons eligible by the course of nature; being vicious, and vnapt for learning, by the rule of Philosophie. The stature of them therefore which are ordained, should be meane; the whole corporall membrature, iust, and proportionable; a visage liberall and ingenuous, eloquently conciliating beneuolence and authoritie. For the reasonable soule (being gathered into a narrow roome) hath more force to worke, then as the sappe in a long slender tree which extending vnto the top and hight of many tall branches produceth lesse store of fruit by much; then it would haue done in a brushie, short well knitted, and tenderly branched tree, whose radical humour worketh in much lesse compasse. Howbeit I denie not but in the purest and best attempered complections, according with the iudgements of diuerse excellent naturalists and Philosophers, the power concupiscentiall will greatly predominate and incite men to sinne. Yet if persons of those cleare constitutions and complections shall moderate their mentall perturbations and carnall appetites; no men of other complections can haue power to come neare vnto them in vertues; if they set their hearts vpon righteousness, and call vp on the name of the most highest. For vnto this precious gift of temperance their nature is most neare; because their braines are lesse prouoked by the distemperature of their inferior irascible and concupiscentiall parts. The complection therfore most eligible is sanguine, aubourne haire, of a meane stature; vertuously instructed, healthfull and long liued. And these (vnlesse some other defect or violence against nature peruerter the same) are for the most part endowed with much wisedome and wit: of which excellent kind we read in the bookes of the Kings, that king *David* was; as faire and ruddie with a comely countenance, & body well shaped; & of a meane stature. Howbeit, we find that he many times through those concupiscentiall motions was excited to sinne: yet had God so blessed him that he did not loose that habite of vertue which was put vpon him with that blessing, when choise was first made of him to be the seruant of God, and vicegerent to rule his chosen people. In election of counsellors, (according to *Pliny*) it was obserued that no man vnder thirtie yeeres of age should be permitted to consult in principall causes of the

Commonwealth, nor men very aged, as after the terme of sixtie yeeres according to *Varro*. Which *Seneca* likewise confirmeth, limiting the seruice of soldiers to fiftie yeeres, and of Senators to sixtie: *Per legem annariam*. For according to that Law, the *Romanes* well knew when they might in respect of their yeeres sue to be *Tribunes*, *Quæstors*, *Dictators*, *Consuls*, or in other offices, as it was limited appearing by this of the Poet *Ovid*.

*Finitaque certis  
Legibus est asas; unde petasur honos.*

That age, (by which men may sue for honors, or promotions) is confined **G** within certaine Lawes.

For if in respect of their experience by many yeeres old men be regarded, it must be respected that by course of nature they be timorous, suspiciois, incredulous, couetous, and so much more foward and fearefull as they bee more wasted in yeeres; impatient of labour and paine, obliuious (by which defect diuers occasions are neglected) talkatiue, & obstinate in opinion, their vnderstanding dull, their heate (which is the spire of action) wasted. Yong men are likewise void of experience, much subiect to vicious affections and pleasures of nature, to passions and perturbations of minde, so distracted with heat of youth, heedlesse temeritie, and surcuidrie that they cannot obserue **A-H** ny temper in grauitie; neither will the people cleave vnto their counsells.

*In Tropae.* And as that excellent Morallist *Seneca* wittie: *Inuvenile vitium est, regere non posse imperium*. It is a vice naturally graffed in youth, not sufficiently to bridle appetite. Men therefore of middle age are to be chosen, whose humours are plausibl and temperate; whose inward affections are delayed with some experience and discretions which can dispose, remember, and execute matters with a proportionable strength, courage, and grauitie; whose memorie will richly serue them for things past, whose vnderstanding to iudge of things present according to truth, and whose imagination participating of them both, can presage or prouide things to come; such men are imponuned with thronging multitudes for counsell; and are to be chosen (as I set downe before) by the prince himselfe vpon good experience had of their sufficiencies. Yong men admitted to that place are fity called abortiue counsellors, and certaine of thē like summer fruits of the first season soone ripe, & fit for the administration of weightie matters, but naturally decay quickly: some long before they be come to be found in iudgment but hauing attained perfection in knowledge are the men indeed fitt for authoritie most excellent aboue others, their wisdome continuing long with them, & yeelding a faire and commendable light euen to the last spiracle of their naturall life; so long as the least droppe of oyle is remaining in their earthly lampes. As that most reverende Father in Christ, *John Whysgirt*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the right sage, and euer-worthy Lord Treasurer, *William Cecill* declared long after the terme of sixtie yeeres, euen to the last period of their breath. Such yong to-wardly plants as are like by the gifts of nature, and pleasantnesse of their wit

A to proue fit in time for such seruice, must first be diligently taught iu Schooles, and Vniverstytes: after good knowledge in arts, commended with honest and faithfull Tutors, attending them into forreine countries, there to note and learne good fashions of people with their Languages, and such things as I spoke of before in peregrination: and then towarde the three or four and twentieth yere of their age (when firmer strength may beare it) exercised and practised some-deale in the warres, which is a great glory to noble yong spirits, and groundeth them in the loue of vertue, when armes are exercised with a perfect heroicall resolution, and to good purposes (as Cicero wri-  
teth: *Prima est adolescens commendatio ad gloriam, si qua ex bellicis rebus compa-* Offr. 2. 1.)

B *paripotes*: The best honour of a yong man, proceedeth from his perfection in armes. And according to *Plato*, *Liberum hominem maxime decet armorum disciplina & equitatio &c.* Martiall discipline and horseman-ship, most honoureth a Gentleman. By these meanes hauing well broken the inordinate heate of youth, with some manly moderation and experience, they may be chosen (if the Prince thinke it fit) into counsells, employed in publike affaers of policie till sixtie yeeres be past, and then let them take leaue of their Prince, returning to their quiet: for the better purifying and rectifying of their conciences, seeking after their soules healths, studying how to die a blessed death, and hauing their honors and reuenues enlarged (by the Princes great benc-  
fiscence) towards them.

C The Soueraigne (which is the fountaine of these counsels) needeth not any rules concerning his apport or carriage, in administration of graue and weightie busynesses of his kingdomes and state: for so much as it should bee presupposed that all the wise consultations and actions of his immediate ministers issue from him, as being the fountaine or Loadstarre of their direction: in whom all glorie (which is attained by the mature deliberations and seruices of them that attend his counsels) remaineth. And therefore I craue pardon herein, if vnhapilly some shall imagine me so foolishly presumptuous, as to prescribe rules of policie for any princes, not hauing sufficient in my selfe to serue thos priuate purposes, that are required in a single man of meane

D condition: for well I know *Quā difficile asque asperū sit consiliorū regi aut impo-  
rta dare, postremo cuiquam mortaliū cuius opes in excelsis sum: quippe cum & illis ad cōser-  
vare consuleat copia sum: I* know that it is difficult and harsh, to minister counsell vnto a King, or Emperor, or to any mortall man, whose riches are huge and honorable: becaule such persons are plentifully furnished with choise of counsellors. Only this in briefe, the respects importing his princely care are these. First a ripe demurra in weightie causes: wherein is required his circumspection that he trifle not away the tyme of his action in vnprofitable delayes; or waste the dayes of his busines in vaine words: next that he lend a iudicious care without pertinacie to them that consult vpon any serious matter concerning his weale: hearing all their opinions benevolently, but warily concealing his owne mind within himselfe, or imparting it (albeit vpon necessarie) to very few, iudging and pondering euery mans censure according to the weight of prudence. *Tunc demū eluces regia maiestas, cum posset qua cūsq;  
fessur-*

*sensensia in sensu melior, non numero sed pondere dijudicare.* Royall maisticie F  
 then most luculently disperserh her glorie, when it hath power to ponder every Senator his opinion according to the sound substance of reason, and not perswaded by the multitude of voices. Lastly but most needefull that his grace admit a generall libertie for his Counsellors frankly to declare their minds without restraint of any thing which may concerne the subiect of their consultations: for miserable is that prince which willfully, but more sluggishly rather occasioneth his owne wretchednesse by prohibition or punitiō of that libertie which openeth vnto him th'impostumes or dangers of his present state, in disposing of which kinde of causes he should decline from any taste of partialitie: which herein is expressed, when he neither rewardeth them that advise him soundly to the best, nor punisheth those which ministred counsell to the worst: And this is one principle, or caueat rather to every wise prince, which (as I shoule think) is a good member of his true fortitudes that he gouerne of himselfe, & be not gouerned entirely by the counsels and opinions of others, as if he shoule fearefully distrust his owne priuate wisedome, in any publike matters of the commonwealth: *Nihil est agum in imperio permisio suis, quam ex alio sapere.* And as *Tilim* writeth in his Commentaries of France: *Principes nevnera & sua negligant: sed procuren ea ex mandato dei, nec incumbant se in alienam fidem.* Princes should haue a most vigilant and circumspect care vnto their offices: which they should execute according G to the commandement of God; and not entirely repose their trust in others. It is likewise very behoofull, that every Prince take open notice and vnderstanding, of the singular good vertues and demerites of such valiant and excellent persons as haue highly worshied his Highnesse, honoured the Commonwealth; or benefited any speciall members thereof. *Tameritam beneficium quam in his a memor esse debet:* He must remember a benefit as presently; as a wrong done vnto him. Semblably, true munificence (as I said before in my first Booke) is most worthy the royll Maiestie: *Armis nempe regem, quam munificencia vincit minus flagitiosum:* The dishonor of a king is not so great which is gotten by his ouerthowe in warres, as by his want of due munificence. H To that prince likewise, that tempereth his raigne with benignitie and clemencie, all things seeme ioyfull & pleasant; *Etiam & hostes huius equiores quam alijs ciues sunt:* Even enemies are more fauorable to such princes, then subiects are to those of a contrary condition. Which that morall Tragoedian witnesseth in many places; though his Scholler would neuer learne that Lesson.

*Seneca in Theb.*

*Quis vult amari, languida regnet manu:*  
 He(that would be beloued amongst his people) must punish with a languishing hand.

Moreouer, every wise prince will haue his Court furnished with store of reverend Bishops, and Noble-men of port; aswell for his owne more fame and honour in forreine places, as for the maisticie of his State at home: by which meaneſ if any matters happen amisse, either in the Church, amongst the nobility, or in the Commonwealth; he may ſafely communicate, conſule, and worke out (with their forces about) him towards a generall or particular pacification,

**A** pacification, and tranquilitie. The reputation and ancient offices of a prince amongst the Romaines was to summon a Parliament, senate, or counsell; to giue directions vnto the Senators: to deliuer the law, to constitute guardians, for wards and orphane in pupilage; to make free men of seruants: to dispose *Spartianus in vita Antonini & Castorius lib.6.* and bestow the publike tribute. His meanes to conciliate the peoples loue is the fame & opinion of libertie, beneficence, iustice, faith, and of other qualities apperteining his roiall apport in manners and facilitie: for in iust and good princes (in and from whom no deceits nor iniuries appeare, nor proceede) the people franckely repose all their fortunes, wiucs, liues, & children: as they did here in your most excellent Maiestie, vpon the decease of our late deare Soueraigne Elizabeth: which how firme a kingdome that is, cannot but be with much comfort knowne vnto your highnesse: *Cum multo rurius sit volensibus salutis in oras quam coactis imperare.* Considering that it is a fafer course to beare rule ouer *ad Cef.* such as are voluntarilie, then those that by constraint are subiect. This hapinesse hath iustice and prudence wrought in and for your grace, that no people can be more franke hearted in loyall allegiance, and reuerend affection towards their Soueraigne; then your subiects of England. For as we find that men for many reaons subiect themselues voluntarilie to princes (some vpon a good opinion conceiued of their iustice and prudence; others in hope of benefit to be gotten at their roiall hands; some for honor, a multitude for other preferments of diuers natures; & peraduenture not a few which stand in feare of some crafduantage if they shold not subiect themselues vnder the, whose true right and inheritance void of anythe least colour of exception doth command and inioine them) so nothing can be more specious, then your maiesties excellent vertues and knowledge, wherewithall God hath admirably blessed you; nothing more liuely declared then your true roiall munificence and bountie: nothing equiualent with your kingly beneficence in honoring & preferring vertuous persons: & (that which is most apparant & cleare as the sunne in his purest light) your maiesties roiall right of inheritance & vndoubted lineall descent vnto these crownes & kingdomes vnder your Scepter imperiously by right commandeth. But one thing more then all the rest (to the vnspeakable comfort of your highnes vnder God) there is; which mainly conquereth & preferueth all Empire; being a zealous & vnfained loue of your people towards your grace, so that in these three pointes your maiesties glories are with most renoune emblazoned: First with the peoples loue: secondly by the confidence reposed in their prince through his vertues: and lastly, through the reuerence, & dutifull obedience exhibited vnto him. *Parva namque res tantum ingenium astringere nequit.* For such a mightie wit is not apprehensible of small matters. Such infinite blessings hath the God of righteousesse powred into your graces head and heart; hauing girded, impaled, and fastened th'one in constancie with those graces of wisedome, within your roiall crowne: and of sacred vnderstanding within those noble vertues which haue circled the other. Hencin (being so manifest a trueth which euery reasonable subiect knoweth and acknowledgeth) I cannot incurre the note of Adulation: so that

it may be verified in this (which was spoken vnto *Caius Caesar*) *Prinus defensi F  
fuerint homines laudando facta tua, quā in laude digna faciendo, &c.* Men shall first grow wearie with speaking of your glorious and prayseworthie deeds, before your desist from doing such things, as most highly deserue commendation. Thus hath your Maiestie giuen vnto vs a golden and a blessed kingdome, not onely by adding vnto your inheritance of England the crowne of Scotland, but by bringing in with you as your inseperable cōpanions, peace, prudence, magnificence, iustice, clemencie, with diuers other princely vertues amongst vs, for our imitation; which (by the true meede of honor) propagate all dominion and soueraigntie, confirming that golden sentence of *Seneca*:

In Thyself.

Habere regnum casus est, virtus dare.

G

Hist. Augus. in  
vita Helvius  
Pertinax.

The possession of a crowne is the gift of fortune, the gift of a crowne is the meede of vertue. So that in after times the like may be recorded of your grace which the Romaines left engrauen in perpetuall honor of their Emperour *Helvius*; who (being constrained by the Senate and people to take vpon him the empire) was therefore called *Pertinax*. *Pertinace imperanti securi viximus, nemine timuimus: patri pio senatus, patri omnī bonorū, &c.* During the Empire of *Pertinax*, we liued in securities, fearelesse of any mortall man: this therefore we consecrate to the godly father of the senate, to the father of all good H men. What then remaineth further (after all these blessings in your maiestie lent vnto vs) but that in our zealous prayers, we with a chearefull vnanimitie, beseech almighty God that all thole your highnesse actions and consultatiōns (which are and shall be) may stand with his good pleasure, and end in all prosperitie.

Offic. 2.

The best meanes of acquisition and preseruation of soueraigntie being declared (as my fashōn is) I deeme it needfull to shew by what courses it is suddenly subuerted. In opposition therefore to the peoples loue standeth their hatred and feare of their prince his feueritie. *Malus enim custos diuinitatis mens: quem etenim meruit oderunt: quem quisque odit perisse esperit.* I For feare is no good treasurer of a mans life: because men hate such persons as retaine them in feare: and it is expedient that he should perish, whom euery man hateth: Saith *Ennius* in *Cicero*. It is therefore impossible for him to raigne long amongst those people whom he doth oppresse with violence and tyrannie, consenting with the sage Morallist.

Seneca in  
Trotæ.

*Violenta nemo imperia continuus dū, moderata dū, fortuna altius eruit ac levavit humanas opes, nūc hanc letabimur. Hoc se magis suppressum felicem dū, nūc hanc letabimur. Variosque casus cernere meruensem deos, nūc hanc letabimur. Nūc hanc letabimur. No*

K

**A** No king can rule long time with violence,  
But princes temperate raigne many yeeres.  
For wise men which by fortune are aduanc'd,  
Their power and passions so much more will curbz,  
And they that feare bad fruits of too good fortunes,  
Can perfectly discerne the choise of chance.

He likewise is not rightly called a king that feareth any subiect, as *Seneca* writeth in *Thyestes*.

*Rex est qui metuit nihil.*

**B** He is a true king which doth not stand in feare of any thing: and in another place to this point thus:

*Quos cogit metus  
Laudare, eodem reddit inimicos metus.*

Such people as in feare constrain'd loue kings,  
By the same feare are made their enemies.

**C** Nay true kings (as I said before) whose true firmament is onely iustice are knownen by two speciall things by which they retaine their kingdomes in *In Thyestes*.

peace and happiness; that is by their zealous worshipp of God, and their voluntarie subiectiōn of themselues vnto the lawes by which they gouerne the nations on earth. Hence was it that *Cætius* did write of a graue, a iust, and a learned, prince which answered a certaine hypocriticall and dangerous flatterer (who did affirme that all the meanes and proceedings of

*Lib. antiqu. lib. 12. cap. 46.*

princes concerning their estates generally were iust and honest) on this fashione: *Omnia per Iouem non sunt honesta, & iusta, sed barbaris tantum. Nobis vero ea honesta que honesta, & iusta que iusta; & illud possumus, quod de iure*

**D** *possumus.* I call Iupiter to witnesse, that all things are not honest and iust, but amongst barbarous kings and iauages. But of vs those things (which are verely honest) are esteemed honest; and all such things iust, which are iust indeed; and that is in our power to doe, which we may lawfully doe.

Moreover this is a most reasonable position, and established in the ciuill lawes.

*Neminem dico posse, se posse aliquid quod honeste non potest & salua dignitate.*

It cannot be sayd of any man, that he may doe any thing, which impugneth his reputation or honestie. Tyrannes likewise are knownen in two speciall things:

*Text in leg. ne-  
possumus si de-  
verborum & seru-  
signis.*

by which (according to the obseruation of some curious heade) they be noted to prescrue a tyrannie. But in my iudgement the members of

**E** those two meanes are the likeliest to demolish any state whatsoeuer: the first kind barbarous, and the second craftie.

Vpon the first expendeth the cutting off and extinguishing of the mightie ones, the abolishing of conuiuiall meetings and good fellowship in enter-

course amongst neighbours, the subuersion of Churches, hospitals, schooles, & academies, bestowing the lands with which they formerly were endowed vpon greedy flatterers, & enemies of honestie: the taking away of fayres, markets and other meanes whereby contrimen become strange one towards another the admittance of strangers into the publike corporations, ciuill societies, and other popular assemblies that they might snarle and entangle people in their words & actions by which their priuileges & possessions may come to be feazed *pro fisco*. The dispersing through all places of the Commonwealth priuie whisperers & informers, for the secret groping and mining into the peoples hearts, and to supplant the states of priuat gentlemen and persons of good qualitie: the sowing of factions, fidelious slauders, and discensions amongst noblemen, rich men, and the commoners; by whose ruine his coffers may bee loaden: the driuing of poore folkes into merc miserie, feare, and pufillanimitie: the leuying and vndertaking of vnjust war abroad, that he may make all sure at home. The diffidence, and not crediting of friends; the cherishing, preferring, and benefiting of wiues, whoores, ~~parasites~~, seruants, fiddlers, rascals, cookes, panders, baudes, playlers, taylors, and Buffons.

Vpon the second meanes confissteth a counterfeit and hypocriticall care, or pretence to cherish the Commonwealth: th' exaction of tributes vnder the pretext of necessarie warres; and of oeconomicall occasions: to counterfeit a reuerende graee and plausible maiestie, both in person and countenance: to wound no man with open iniurie, but priuily to bite him to the bone: to retaine but one wife in open sight: admirably to dissemble sobrietie, vigilancie, the feare of God, and care of religion; and sometimes in specious appearance, to reward honest men vnder the pretext of vertue. And these haue beene noted as eminent qualities in malicious Tyrants, such as *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Maximus*: which being continually wounded, stabbed, and tormented with the bodkins, and furies of their mischievous and impious actions and deuises; as *Nero* was, who (neither sleeping nor waking could rest alone, from horrible and fatall visions and apparitions, and being in companie flood in feare of every man about him) liued in a most miserable hell amongst men. The like was written of King *Richard* the third amongst vs, whose nefarious practises, and bloodie crymes were vnspeakable. Whereas if we should in contrary compare them with those vertuous and blessed Princes, whose gracious eyes inspired peace and plentie to the Commonwealth where they gouerned: it shall appeare, that like Angels vpon earth ( with a comfortable remembrance and motion of their goodness and beneficence generally dispersed) they seemed in comparison of those other tryranous diuels. But I doubt least, I rest vpon this point more then fitteth, and therefore I will be so short, as I can in the rest.

First therefore, a good and wise Prince may not maintaine any combate with fortune: as in contending to blow stronger then the windes, or to rore lowder then the Seaes; but to yeeld with warie vigilancie to her wrath, vntill prudent occasion bring her (in another bodie then before she was) well managed

A managed, and taught to turne at hand furnished fit for his seruice, with saddle and bridle, that being brauely mounted at length vpon his old metamorphosed mistresse, with a paire of golden spurres on his hecles, he may ride like the great Greeke Monarch *Alexander*, when vpon his great headed horse *Bucephalus*, all the kings of the world saluted him as their mightie soueraigne. And lastly, let that serenitie which should shine from the diuine temples of a true prince, so generally dispose it self amongst all people, that nothing repugnant to prudence, iustice, fortitude, and temperance, appeare in his actions and consultations: for they shalld be th'inseperable counsellors and companions of all crownes.

B, Now to conculde in the foot of my second Booke, with the Prince, who is both top & root of this Counsell, being therefore called, *Consilium priuatum* (as *Vincentius Enpanus* writeth) *Quasi secessus, interius, selectius, & sanctius dixeris*: As if you should say the most secret, inward, choise, and holy counsell. Which kinde of counsell we finde was instituted amongst the *Athenians* in their Commonwealth: *Sine cuius consilio quicquam decerni, Solonis lege prohibitum erat*. Without the aduice of which Senate it was cautioned by the Lawes of *Solon*, that not any thing of moment in the *Athenian* Common-wealth should be discerned. I therefore say, that to bee a Prince is the great gift of God: for somuch as he is chosen Gods Vice-gerent or Steward, either good

C or bad for the weale or punishment of his people: but that prince which studieth, and faithfully prouideth for the chiefeſt good and peace of his people both in soule and body, (proposing that bleſſing for the whole ſcope of his gouernment) hath that grace diuinely iuſtified, & it merely proceedeth from his owne bountiſt and bleſſed nature. *Est enim illud imperium diuimum, & immobile, quod fulcitur gloria, & benevolensia popularis societatis*: For that Empire is durable and conſtant, which is ſupported by the report and benevolence of the popular ſocietie. Which made our late deare Soueraigne, that moſt conſpicuous, auſpicious and peace-breathing bright Planet of Christendome, ſo ſacred in her domination to that heart-breaking wonder of her enemis: which (hauing ſpightfully belched out in her life time the vomite of their impoſoned and malicious calumnies againſt her vntrepreneurble conuerſation and gouernement) were ſince her death, in remorse of conſcience forced to acknowledge the miraculous bleſſings of the Almighty in her rediſpended diſtributed and imparted to the neighbours and princes of Christendome during her raigne: which moſt then exemplarie bleſſing hath anſwerably giuen courage to the people ſubiected in obedience vnto the Brittaine crownes; hauing declared their loues and loyalties vnto your highneſſe, being our happye Soueraigne which ſucceedeth her. And this is it which hath made your gracious Maieſtie out of your ſacred diſpoſition, and right royll lenitie; not onely to promeſe, but to perorme ſo much on your princely part as they did expeſt, and as your highneſſe presuppoſeth of their deſert: by which you ſhall attaine much

E R iiiij more

*Sacra ad C. Cos. Bratis.* more honour then euer *Octavianus, Antoninus Pius, Pertinax, Titus, Traiane*, or **F** any prince that euer raigned in most happinesse : considering that sage sentence. *Imperium facile y's aribus retinetur quibus initio parum est.* It is easie to retaine a kingdome by the same meanes, through which it was attained.

Being now maintained (euen as it was gotten) in ioy, iustice, loue and lenitie : which are the true tokens, and infallible affections indeed of a very blessed Soueraigne. For according to *Fr.*

*Guicciardine* the sweet name of a iust prince is as dearely tendered amongst all louing people as the remembrance of a tyranne odious, abiect, and contemptible. **G**

*Finis libri secundi.*



## The third Booke.

### Office of Judges.

**W**hen that most glorious and euer renouned Emperour, *Flauius Iustinianus*, had (through his incomparable vertues, and trauels indefatigable) subiected the stubborne necks of sauage *Barbarians*, vnder the victorious yoake of his farre stretching dominions: and with maine power (in much dust and bloody smoake) had forced all *Afrike*, being victoriouly seconded with numberles Prouinces

**C** of other nations; in homage and tributarie seruice with feare and trembling, to make remonstrance of her obedience vnder his conquering sword. After all these tumults, bloody sweats and slaughters; and vpon all his pompous tryumphes for those victories ascribed to th'incomprehensible strength and goodnesse of Almighty God, then did he prudently call to remembrance the blessed serenitie, which eternally shineth from the smiling forhead of gracious peace, after it hath bin first deerly purchased with the violent confusion of unpartiall war. Wherfore that he might be magnified aswell by th'olive of peace, as eternized in the Laurell of martiall victorie, he resolued to become as religiouse in establishing of Lawes for the preseruation of his peace and people, as he before had been famous in the propagation, subiection, and conseruation of th'empire: according to that opinion of the sage Tragoedian.

*Pacem reducere velle victori expedit.*

*Sententia Henr. For.*

**E** It is expedient for the Victor, to studie the restitution of peace. In which benevolent purpose with all humblenesse, vnder the propitious assistance of God (to which he did with most zealous sinceritie fustappeale) by the studious care of *Tribonianus Theophilus* and *Dorotheus* men of most excelling prudence, necrest him of his secret Counsels, and the learnedest Sages of the Lawes in that time happily, pithely, and compendiously reduced the fiftie Volumes of *Pandects* out of *Caius* his Commentaries, and others, into foure Bookes of *Institutions*. Which that sacred Emperour (great honours and reuenues being proposed to the Proficients in those studyes) did by his imperiall Edicts warranting the promulgation of that Booke, cause to be generally read

read in all his dominions for the better establishment of his many kingdoms, F and people in publick weale and tranquilitie. According to whose sage method and forme of Lawes (being much more excellent and conspicuous then all other ciuill institution (by which any principalities were euer gouerned) I purpose by Gods affiance, to inuest this Counsell; not maiestically roabed in scarlet and purpure according to the reuerence and dignitie thereof: yet in the verie best which my slender faculties can afford; hauing neuer attained any fruitfull substance out of that paradise of diuine and humane knowledge equally combined by the perfection and fulnesse of Gods grace.

*Inuicis  
Cicero  
3. offic.*

First therefore iustice (being as Cicero calleth her) *Omnium virtutum domina & Regina*: The Lady and Queene of all other vertues. By the imperiall G institutions is thus defined; *Perpetua & constans voluntas, suum cunque tribuens*: A perpetuall and assured will to giue every man his due. And deriued as I suppose from *Ius*, which is right, *tanquam Ius stans, & immobile, vel iuris statio*: Asa sure, immoueable, or implanted right being the same in effect with the definition of iustice.

*Iurisprudentia.*

*Iuris prudentia* (which I call she knowledge how to discerne of any cause a- rights.) *Est diuinarum humanarumque rerum nosissima, iusti atque iniusti sciens*: A notice of diuine and humane affaires: a science which taketh a true difference betweene right and wrong: Comprehending Sapience, which by Philosophers is defined to bee the science of diuine and humane matters: H and therefore Judges and Interpreters of the Lawes, were antiquitely called *Prudentes* and *Sages*. Hence proceedeth it that *Ius*, by the difference that I can make in our vulgar is termed, every thing that is thought and done aright. For according to Master Bodine, it differeth a *lege*; *Quoniam sine ius in specie ad quod aqum & bonum est: lex autem ad imperantis maiestatem pertinet*. Because it (without motion or coaction) is wholy employed in righteousnes and goodnesse: whereas Lawes haue reference to the Magistriates maiestie. The substance of iustice is compounded (as it were) of three principall elements of the minde: of honestie, which is a plaine and cleanly perfection of the minde; *constantly conuering in iust dealing and decencie*; of Innocencie, which comprehendeth our pietie towards God: and our zealous obediance unto the lawes of his holy Scriptures: with the perfect duties & true charitie which every well-affected person exhibith towards all sorts of people in their degrees: and of Equitie, which in my iudgement is (as it were) a perfect Law truely written in our heartes with the penne of godly reason. Or as it is otherwise defined; *Equitas virtus est, qua quis recte legem in malis instantijs deficiens corrigit & moderatur*: Equitie is a vertue by which the law (failing, or wanting in many principall, vehement, and urgent points) is corrected and moderated. This is the same lawe which

*Inuicis partus  
Probitas  
Innocentia.  
equitas.*

*Curia Cancellaria & aquitatis.*

ruleth in his Maiesties Courtes of Chauncerie, where the bitter censure and rugged Letter of the Statute is qualefied mitigated or rectified by the merciful interpretation or discretion of the Judge or Chancellor, being *Legis Cancellarius*: *quem penes est ram cancellario, quam interpretatio & modificatio sententiis & iuris vel rerum in legisbus aequo magis acerbarum*: The Treasurer of the Lawes; in whose power it refleth to cancell, interpret, or qualifie sentences, and causes,

K

**A** causes somewhat sharply censured by the strict Letter of the Lawes. And this doubtlesly seemeth to be that diuine and superexcellent grace, which giueth glorie with vigor to iustice: or rather as I may fitly call it *Equis as est quasi cor Iusticie*: Equitie is as the heart of iustice. The first of these concerneth our owne persons in particular; the second belongeth our neighbours in speciall; and the third respecteth all degrees of people in generall.

*Ius*, which I call right, being a *precept or prescript of the King, tending vnto Ius publicum the weale of his subiects, committed to promulgation and administration, and forme according to precise reason and vprights conscience*) is two fold, being either publicke as appertaining the whole Commonwealth & State, or priuate concerning euery peculiar person in Commoditie.

Priuate right, is either that which is by nature: *Qua lege omnes ubique terrarum principes obligari sunt*: By which Law all princes whatsoeuer vpon earth stand bound & obliged; being common to all creatures living. From whence the coniunction of male and female, wedlocke, procreation and education of children proceed (as Itouched in *oeconomie* before) Or that which is nationall, and generally belongeth all people: for in such case (vpon constraint) nations made lawes; wherevpon warres, captiuities, and slaueries ensued, repugnant vnto the right of nature, which hath made all persons free. From which nationall right all contracts and bargaines, commerce, or entercourse of

*Ius privatum est aut naturale aut nationale*

**C** Merchants from one place to another, location or the letting of any chattells, goods, or commodities for hier, conduction or the vndertaking of any woike for wages, people in association or societie, *Empion*, as when men receiue any thing of others for a price agreed vpon betwixt them that deliuer and those that receiue, selling, borrowing, and lending with such like haue issued.

Ciuill right is that by which euery Commonwealth is gouerned. Euen as those ancient laws which King *Pharamonde* and *Gombaldus* king of *Burgundie* made, which were said to be the ciuill Lawes of *France*. One of them being that kinde of masculine law which they terme *Salique*; first written in the Germane tongue, and instituted *Anno Christi. 422*. So called of the people of *Salij*, dwelling in *Franconia* neare the riuier *Rhyne*, to which lists at that time the borders of the French Empire stretched. And the other called *Gomer*, comprehending diuers necessarie statutes peculiar to that nation. Semblably these our Parliamentall Lawes in *England*, which we call the Statute Lawes as of the Commonwealth (from whence the modification & gouernment of the peoples natures and of the Commonwealth proceedeth) is the same in and to all effects and purposes, with that which is called the Ciuill law, respecting this Realme and Commonwealth generally. And such were the lawes of *Solon* and *Draco*, vnto which the people of *Athens* (that had during the Greeke monarchie been a free State, and royll Commonwealth)

**E** were subiected in particular. For as these our Statute Lawes of *England*, are only made & established by the popular consent and vnanimitie; wherevpon they take title of commonwealthes Lawes: so were the ciuill Lawes of all free Cities, devised and established for the generall behoofe of those peculiar States,

States, by consent of all the free Citizens, and therevpon called ciuill Lawes. F For being by the generall Suffragation and consent of the people, put in force and established, they must needfully *Legem pati, quam sulerant*: Vndergoe their owne Lawes. So that no man hath power in himselfe, to appeale from the Lawes of his owne natuie Countrey: because it is presuppoled that each Commoners vote ( vpon sound and deepe deliberation and consultation) hath already passed in Parliament. And this is the very reason which includeth euery good Prince also within the limits of his owne Lawes; being *Per necessitatis legem ligatus*: Bound by the Lawes of necessitie, to make good his owne act; least through his refusall hee giue the first scope and light vnto the vulgar, to contemne Iustice and magistracie. Hence was it, that *Xenophon* G produced *Cambyses*, speaking; *Nonne statuunt imperatorem, ad omnia tollerantiorum & legibus magis astrictum quam subditos?* is it not decreed that he which is Emperor should tollerate more difficulties, and be more straightly bound vnto the Lawes then his owne subiects? For sure it is, that he laboureth to make a Tyrant of him, which would exempt any king from obedience vnto his owne Lawes.

*Ius gentium.*

The *right of Nations* differeth from the Ciuill in this, that it is generall and obserued traditionally by naturall reason amongst all persons: whereas H the other is priuate and tyed vnto the necessitie of that Commonwealth which requireth the same.

*Ius ciuile.*

*Ciuitate Right*, is either written, or by prescription. That which is written doth consist in *Lawes*, in *Folkemots*, in the *Senators* Institutions; in the Prince his *Plees*, in *Edicts of Maiestates*, and in *sage sentences*.

*Lex.*

Law which is, *summa potestatis iussum*: The precept or commandement of the highest power. Or rather as I deeme: *Summum ius*. Extreame right. Because many things were more seuerely committed to the Lawes letter, then by the Law-sages and reuerend Judges did seeme needfull with extremitie to be executed (and some prudent sentences also deliuered in such misticall Oracles, as might be wrested, mollified, or hardened, as should be thought most fit in the Judge his discretion by conscience and equitie; onely to terrifie men from hainous sinnes) is called the *Rule of Reason, the Empire of the prince, and dutie of the subiects*. For all the Lawes both diuine and humane, haue reference vnto the true worship of God, and to the sincere and perfect concord of people amongst themselues: the vertue whereof appeareth in commanding, prohibiting, permitting and punishing of matters and persons. *Jambliscus* calleth the Law *Rectam rationem & reginam omnium, quae recta & iusta iubet, veraque contraria*: The true reason and Queene of all causes; commanding persons to doe right, and iustice, and prohibiting the contrarie: Which is in effect the same with *Iustum*, being that, *Quod cuiquam secundum praecepit & prescriptum domini fit*: Which is done to euery man according to the king or K Prince his precept and prescription. For it is to be presupposed that the prince dealeth merely with right and equitie towrdes all men: whereas if Iustice be the scope or precinct of the Lawes; and if those Lawes vpon commandement

A ment of the prince be put in execution ; (which prince representeth vnto the people the liuely figure of Almighty God in his royll person) it must of necessitie follow, that the prince his lawes should haue a taske and resemblance of Gods lawes also : and hence is it which I deriuе as a position sure & infallible, that they which feare to offend the lawes of God stand not in any feare of the punishment which is by the laws of man limited: because they wil not offend either through impietie , or through the want of natvie iustice and charitie. Those also which in feare to loose their present liues or liberties, & those which in loue of this world , and those which in vsing this world as though they should alwayes vsē it, withdraw themselues from open offences , are for the most part Epicures, Atheists, Hypocrites, or wicked persons, not performing any good thing out of their owne francke wils and honest consciences, but by constraint and feare. Only they that out of their owne toward natures and in meere loue to vertue, feare the transgression of lawes and iustice are honorably to be respected and cherished according to that saying of the Poet.

*Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,  
Oderunt peccare malis formidine pena.*

C Good men stand in feare to commit offences, through that loue which by diuine grace they beare to vertue : wicked men are loath to doe wickedly because they stand in feare of that punishment which is limited by the lawes.

Moreover mans only feare of the lawes cannot purge his conscience cleane from sinne ; but merely taketh away from him the licence by which he doth offend. *Leges enim possunt delicta punire, conscientiam munire non possunt.* For the lawes may punish offences, but haue no power to corroborate or munite the Conscience. And so much in briefe concerning *Lex* generally : which was instituted likewise (euen as in those places aforesaid) amongst the Romanes of ancient ages past, at Rome vpon the request of a magistrate *Senatorial* being (as it were) *Proconsul* for that time.

D *Plebisitum* which I call *Folkemot* (because this word hath beene ancient in *Plebisitum*, our lawes) was that which the magistrate or mouth of the Commons, vpon *Folkemot*, motion and suit, as bearing office of their speaker and Tribune did get ratiefied by the Romane Consuls and Senators on their behalfe. Howbeit *Folkemot* as it might be taken by th'interpretation of that ancient Saxon word importeth some base assemblie or conuention of the meaner sort of people, making and instituting lawes after their owne lustes : for in my iudgement that might be called a *Folkemot* where the base commoners and inhabitants in any bad ordered Commonwealth (as not acknowledging any lords or superiors) should make lawes or choose magistrates vpon their owne improper opinions, and indiscretions ; as I touched in the morals of my second booke , intreating of the worst popular estate called *Anarchie*. And such was it (which in my iudgement might be called a *Folkemot*) that happened in the dayes of King *Henrie* the third after the conquest: when a multitude of the baser Commoners assembled at Oxford, where those blockheads of that time exempted

the king with his nobles and all others that had knowledge to reade and write from hauing any place or vote in their parliament, sauing such as were to recorde their ridiculous and vnlawfull actions. Such orders likewise as the baser sort in villages, hamlets, and poore townes doe make amongst them selues concerning their societies: as in matters of their parishes, of commons of pasture, of moore, or of any consultation concerning the common priuilege of that township, hundred, rape, or wapentake where they liue, being now called Bierlawes; and not retaining any force of written lawes, but by customearie prescription within mans memorie retained; as I thinke) may be properly called *Plebiscita*, and *Folkemot*. Hereof (being so well knownen to diuers professors and students of our commonlawes in this Realme) I will not speake **G** any more: onely the difference whereupon I bring in that vnusiall terme *Folkemot* (according to my translation) is by the imperial institutions thus discerned. This word *Plebs* or *Folke* to the baser commons; and vnto priuate persons of meane condition is onely proper: whereas *Populus* or people in cludeth nobles and all others their inferiors generally.

*Plebs & Popu-  
lus.*

*Placita Princi-  
pium.*

*Plees of Princes*, or such mandates as onely proceed from the kings will and pleasure (to whom the people haue ascribed all soueraignetie) consist in letters, mandatorie, missiue, or in writs of diuers natures: as in the priuilege of our princes according to forme of our commonlawes of this Realme: or by deccrees awarded vpon his highnesses owne knowledge; or out of any of his **H** highnesses courts, for the proesse and aduancement of iustice; betwixt partie and partie: or in that which is most neare vnto the legall meaning and interpretation of *Placita principum* in our common lawes of this realme in cases of treasons and felonies of diuers natures being called *Placita corona*, Plees of the crowne: or by the kings proclamations and edicts bearing the same force that lawes parliamentall haue, which by the Romanes were called constiu- tions.

*Anno 31. Hen.  
8. chap. 8.*

*Edicta magi-  
stratum.*

*Edicta* of magistrates were called the lawes of honour, because by those noble patritians and honorable magistrates which made and caused them to be publikely proclaimed that title was by the Lawfathers and Consuls permitted **I** and assignd vnto them by speciall priuilege retaining the like vigor with their ciuill lawes generally receiued and ratified.

To such edicts may those orders, warrants, precepts, inhibitions, and actes of the like nature (awarded and subscribed by the secret counsellors of our princes in these dayes) be fitly resembled: semblably those metropolitical and episcopall mandates and promulgations within their severall prouinces and dioecesse concerning Church discipline; as all other writs and precepts proceeding from other speciall magistrates of the commonwealth of what nature soever as from iustices in th'eclesiasticall and ciuill commissions; either for causes criminall or for the peace, and from Maiors, Deanes, and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other head officers of towns corporate, colledges, & lordships with such like within their severall liberties awarranted by the statute lawes of this realme; and retaining some force of those lawes as being medi- ate meanes legally limited, and ordained towards the readier and more com- modious

**K**

A modious aduancement of iustice) are not improperly called *Edicta magistratuū. Sententia prae-*  
*Sentences of prudent persons*, were opinions of certaine Sages of the Laws *denum.*  
 chosen to decide weightie matters in controuersie betwixt parties. And these  
 Law-fathers or Judges did enucleate diuers difficult points thereof, by rea-  
 son and conscience. These through permission of the Emperor did interpret  
 all the Lawes, and were called *Iurisprudentes*; or the learned in the Lawes:  
 from whose opinion being once confirmed, no Judges might in any Cascs  
 haue appealed. Like vnto them is our reportes of Lawcascs, and the iuridicall  
 sentences of our learned Judges in matters of long suspence and ambiguities;  
 which haue depended many yeeres in sute at our Commonlawes of this  
 Realme, betwixt persons in certaine cases of right; and at length haue been  
 B finally determined, after infinite proofe and long discussion by the full con-  
 sent of all our learned Judges. Howbeit, these reports and finall sentences  
 in such Cascs, cannot binde the Judges of after-times in the same Cascs, to  
 giue sentence accordingly: which argueth that amongst vs those reports  
 or finall sentences of Judges haue not such legall force; as those *Sententia*  
*prudentium* (being th'opinions of men learned in the Lawes) had formerly.  
 Howbeit, they be vehement motiues, inductions, and guides vnto Judges in  
 such Cascs, to leane vnto the like opinions. For considering that it hath beene  
 diuers times seene in a case contrauertible after it hath been commended vnto  
 legall tryall, that the Judges of the *Kings bench* of the *Common plees*, and of the  
 C *Exchequer*, haue all of them differed and dissented in their opinions, deliuered  
 of one and the same case amongst themselues: euery Court yeelding reasons  
 probable for the maintenance and corioboration of their diuers sentences.)  
 It should therefore seeme to stand with great right and reason, that such sen-  
 tences of reuerend and learned Judges in our Common-lawes formerly gi-  
 uen and past, should not necessarily binde all other Judges after them: which  
 grounded vpon good and probable reason with equitie) may percase in some  
 pointes vary from those former. Notwithstanding, if all the learned Judges  
 of this Realme assemble in the *Exchequer* or els-where, to conclude vpon any  
 weightie case (ambiguously depending in the Courts, either for the Prince,  
 D or for any subiect of what condition soever) should with a francke consent  
 and vnaminitie giue opinion according to their priuate consciences, and sin-  
 cere interpretation of the Law: without question it must of force moue the  
 Judges in succession (which handle the like cases) to dispatch them, by that  
 precedent, and with expedition accordingly.

Ciuill right vnwritten or customarie (being approued with long yse and *Ius scriptum.*  
*non scriptum.*  
 consent of the people imbracing it) retaineth equall force with the Lawes.  
 The *Lacedemonians* vsed those customarie Lawes altogether; and the *Asche-  
 vians* from whence certaine learned in Antiquities suppose the ground of our  
 English common-lawes to be deriuied, and brought hether, first in the Greeke  
 tongue: even as the *Egyptian* lawes were by *Orpheus* out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: *Diod. Siculus*  
*lib. 2. lib. 10. 8.*

*In personarum  
et rerum.*

This is the difference betwixt the right of nature, and of ciuill right ; that F the naturall is firme and immutable, the ciuill is changed and abrogated, by consent of persons at any time: As when in a present Parliament such a Statute happeneth to be repealed, annulled, or antiquated, which had been enacted, instituted, and established in other Parliaments before. Finally, the whole scope of all iustice and law whatsoeuer, with the grounds whervpon all crimes and trespasses be perpetrated, punished, and redressed in Iustice and equitie, concerneth either persons or goods.

The course of our English lawes holdeth in erection of Courtes, which *Ceriolano* termeth Counsels; and these are either Ecclesiasticall or ciuill. The great Court of Parliament consisting of both, deuiseith laws most behoefull G for the time, not to the Prince or any particular person onely; but for the Commonwealth, as those ancient Law-makers *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, *Onomacritus*, *Philolaus*, *Draco*, *Pittacus*, *Andromocas* did before : most of whose Hystories are extant, adding vnto them *Lycurgus* and *Solon*; eternally famous for teaching methods of excellent government.

These our Parliament lawes like liuely blood dispersed through the members and prouinces of our whole Common-wealth are executed in time, and vpon needfull occasion as is fit; ministring matter for all other inferior courts, which haue iurisdiction ouer all causes needing present succour. No lawes are in force against these Parliamentall acts or institutions. The causes there hand- H led being either Ecclesiasticall or ciuill binde all persons of this kingdom, for so much as the whole substance of this Commonwealth, high and low, rich and poore, is supposed to be there. If therefore any thing passe in those houses of Parliament by generall consent, concerning the publicke weale or generall good or ciuill, it behoueth first that they soundly and maturely deliberate and consult vpon any thing important ; siftiug out the circumstancies which may tend to the most benefit or priuicide, and (consciounably pondering each point in the ballance of reason) may condiscend to that which will least prejudice the maine : for when the billes of those houses are once exhibited, past, and inacted, they cannot be repealed without another Parliament, by generall consent of the Prince and of all persons. In this high court, all Iudgements (issuing out of the Kings bench, the Chauncerie, Common plees, the Exchequer, the court of Wardes, and that which proceedeth out of the court of Parliament it selfe) may bee reuersed by writ of Error. There are likewise other courts Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill: Ecclesiasticall, as the whole Convocation of our Clergie assembled with our States of Parliament, consisting of Deanes and Chapiters, Archdeacons, Procters of Cathedrall Churches, and Deligates, which are the generall; with prouinciall Synods of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, vnto whom all the Byshopricks of *England* and *Wales* suffragate. In speciall such generall courts as answere to this Synod are the *Constitorie*, the *Arches* for appeals, court of the *Chancelor* or *Audience*, *Commissaries* court, or the *Prerogatiue* for probate of *Testaments*, with the court of *Faculties* for dispensations: the courts held at *Canterbury* by the *Chancellor* for the *Diocesse*, the court of peculiar *Deaneries* appertaining K th'Arch-

A th'Archbishop, and yet belonging vnto diuers Bishopricks, vnto which other Bysbops are also subiect. Euerie priuate Bishop or Soucragaine haue courts also within their feuerall Dioecesse to themselues peculiare, their cours of Chancellors, Archdeacons or Officials.

Ciuill courts hold plees either in cases of right dealing, or in ciuill causes betwixt the prince and his tenants. But of the Exchequer, where those causes betwixt the Prince and his tenants are decyded, I did speake somewhat in my first Booke.

The Dutchie of *Lancaster* by grant from King *Edward* the third, to *John of Gaunt* was exstinct by vnioun of Possession, with the crowne in person of

B King *Henrie* the fourth, by whom it was feuered; and so continued the whole times of King *Henrie* the fift, and King *Henry* the sixth: then vntited by *Edward* the fourth, which being seperated againe by King *Henrie* the seventh, remaineth yet accordingly.

The Court of Chancerie wherein ought to bee the seate of equitie, which mitigateth or morderateth the Law; or as *Aristotle* calleth it, *enmixta tanquam sine fuso*, without guile or subtile hypocrisie, should seeme to distri-  
bute and execute the Lawe of nature and conscience, being corrected by reason, but confirmed by Religion. It is that *auxiliis* of the soule, or that naturall facultie with perswadeth the good, and disswadeth that which is

C euill: and therefore (as I sayd elsewhere) Equitie should seeme to bee that Balme, which modefith and molefith the rigorous Letter and rugged fore-  
head of Law, graciously smoothing the same with a blessed serenitie. For when the Law by feuere interpretation is drawne to inconuenient kinds of facts, and by colourable arguments mooued to frustrate the good meaning of the Statute; then our recourse in *England* is made vnto the Chancerie, be-  
ing so notable and common, that in other Courts through the corrupt levine and couetous malice of some Lawyers, right is many times peruerted. For diuers wylie Sophyesters arguing with subtile insinuations, and heaping vp au-  
thorities enforce the Letter of our Statutes, that they may bee thereby ac-

D comodated to their owne corrupt purposes: so that the violence done by such a Counsellor, is much more then that which is offered by the wrong dealing plaintiff or defendant, against the innocent grieved. Hence is this in-  
iquitie thus enforced by the smoothe tongue of a subtile Lawyer, which of-  
ten times vrgeth and procureth a feuere or sinister sentence: from whence ap-  
peale is made vnto this Court of equitie, which is the Kings iust mercie seat, from whence is dispensed that which is vulgarly called *agnum & bonum, agnum & iustum, agnum iustum*: Intimating righteouſneſſe and goodneſſe, right and iuſtice, and iuſtice: for euen the lawes themſelues re-  
quire that they may be gouerned by trueth, *Et ut leni, facili, ac benigna inter- Lamber.*

E *prerogatione temperentur: veraque dicuntur, nullus recedas a Cancellaria sine remedio:* To be qualified with a gentle, milde, and fauourable interpretation: And it is a true saying; *Let no man depart from the Court of Chancerie without remedie.* The iudgements deliuered in this Court of honourable grace cannot be (but by the Court Parliament) reuersed: the ſpeciall proceedings in Chancerie are by

*Monstrans le  
trist.* by petitions, trauerles, and shewing of right. In this Court the Lord Chauncellor is iudge with the master of Rolles: next vnder them the masters of the Chauncerie, the sixe Clerkes, and cursiters. Adioyning these is the court of requests. Allthose ciuill courts prementioned hold plee betwixt subiect and subiect either in triall of land causes, as the kings Bench, so farre at it dealeth in matters of debt, assumption, actions vpon the case, properly belonging to the court of the Common plees; or in the Common plees begun by king *Henrie the 3.* Likewise in the matters of Marshallsea within the virge, limited to twelue miles neere to the kings house and no more: where the steward and Marshall are iudges, or in marine causes determinable in the Admiraltie; which court was erected by king *Edward the third*: all of them being generall courts. Those which are speciall and peculier to some one prouince, people, or feignorie subiect to the state of this crowne doe follow. The Constables court in Wales, wherein the President and counsell with the Secretarie and examiner, the Clarke of the counsell, and keeper of the billes doe sit. In the North part of England also, where, at Yorke a President and counsell is established: both which counsels are fashioned according to the forme of Parliaments in France. Likewise the Chauncellers court in the Exchequer, which hath a Seale, the writs vnder which are more antient then the Register or Prerogative. H

*Vide Dent. I.  
cap. & Exod. 18.  
24. cap.* There are also diuers base courts, which (as it should seeme) were first of any that we can read begunne by *Moses*, who did establish judges: These ruled Tribes, Hundreds; Fifties, tenths; to whom he referred the decision of small causes, refering to himselfe matters of most importance. These courts were continued amongst vs in example by king *Alfred the Saxon* and a Christian king, who deuided his realme, First into lathes, rapes, ridings; and them into wapentakes, hundreds; and those into leets, court Barons, tithings, piepouders. Secondly, into Sherifes turnes, and hundreds. King *Henry the second* deuided this realme into sixe parts, vnto each of which he did asigne three iustices, called Itinerants by *Bracton* and iustices in eire by *Briston*, whose circuits *Roger Houeden* describeth to be like our iuridicall circuits at this day: and so much in generall touching the formes and nature of our Ecclesiastical and ciuill courts in this realme, which master *William Camden* our most learned Brittaine *Anniquarie* did very commendably set forth in the last edition of his booke. Now somewhat concerning the lawes, but in speciall touching our owne nation. I

It is said, that *Brutus* (vpon his settling in this Iland) did write a booke of lawes in the Greeke tongue collected out of the Troiane lawes 1103. yeres before Christes birth, which Greeke lawes the *Druides* first administred in this land being solemnly by vowes inhibited to promulgate them to vulgar vnderstanding. From these *Druides* (according to *Cesar*) being found out amongst vs, a colonie was deducted into Galle for the instruction of that people. The frequent and reciprocall commerce and trafique betwixt the Galles and Britaines in those times, like to be by couenant or deeds ratified according to those Greeke lawes, by which both the nations were gouerned, should seeme K

A (as *Strabo* thinketh) to confirmg so much. *Molmatus Domnallo* instituted two bookes of lawes in this land called municipiall and judicarie, importing the statute lawes and the common lawes. After him *Mercia Proba* the wife of king *Guinsteline*, another booke called *Merciae* lawes. King *Alfred* also gathered diuers which (being into one volume compiled) he named a breuiarie drawn from diuers lawes of the Troians, Greeks, Brittaines, Saxons and Danes. Also *Sigibert* king of the East Angles published a booke called the *Institutes of Lawes*. *Edward* the Confessor next king before *William* the first, amongst the diuineſt and worthieſt lawes may be registred, which out of thole infinite volumes of Britiſh, Romaine, Danish, and English lawes made a choiſe *Rapſodie* which he did intitle the common law: as by the wordes of diuers diligent and faithfull Antiquaries appeareth. After these princes king *William* the first (vpon his great victories and militarie trauels in ſubduing the rebellious violence of the borderers impaling this land) instituted diuers excellent and commodious lawes, abrogated ſince then, abrogating others which were not ſo neceſſarie for thole times, as *Geruas* of Tilbury writeth. After whom his ſonne *H.* the first ſurnamed *Henry Beauclerke* (of whom *Henrie* of Huntington, who liued in his dayes recordeth much) being a very learned and politike prince abrogated certaine of them, reſtoring diuers of the former, which hee thought were more behouefull for thole times. And *Henrie* the ſecond a prince of much mildneſſe and humanitie compiled another volume diuided into the laws of this Commonwealth & the ſtatutes royll intituled. But in this point I referre myſelfe with the reader, to the large & very learned Epiftle of *S. Edward Coke* to thole bookes of Lawcases by him lately compiled. And ſo much briefly touching the precise care and ſtudies of former princes in ordeining & collecting the laws: the neceſſity wherof being ſo vulgarly knownen, needeth no confirmation by further example, conſidering how fresh it ſpringeth in our memories (omitting the moſt ſage & prudent prouifio of that *Numa* of England king *Henry* the ſeuenth for the Commonwealth by good and politike institution & administration of lawes) that our late ſacred ſoueraigne *Elizab.* (whose veiy name imprenteth a reverend remembrance in my heart) instituted many diuine laws, by which the miraculouſe peace of this Commonwealth vnder the inerſtull prouidence of God was ampliſhed, conſerued, & eterniſed. And here may not I with modeſtie paſſe or poſt ouer his Maiefties royll prouideſce, knowledge, and high paines in compiling and publishing the lawes of Stotland imprinted in one volume; not doubtiſt but that God of his great and inestimable loue to this nation vnder his bleſſed ſcepter alſo ſhall ſo worke by iuſtice in his princely ſpirit, that this realme may become in ſhortiſme of a garden, wherein his highneſſe found ſome weeds, a diuine paradise of moſt ciuill humanitie. This hath bene the great care which did formerly with ſuch vehement force worke in the brains & hearts of al prudent kings & emperours, to make their people bleſſed & this (which amongſt many more excellent vertues and honors attributed and ascribed formerly to *Augustus Cæſar*) made him ſo great and eternall in the golden memorials of time ſo that for the correction and promulgation of lawes in his owne name, and for his ſumptuous

and many buildings, it was truely and triumphantly spoken of himselfe, *Vr. F  
bem lasericiam reperi, reliquo marmoream.* These were the bulwarkes which protected the peace and honour of his Empire: and those by which the superabounding tranquilitie of this Nation hath beene so long cherished and conserued;

It was recorded in the Romane Annals and memorials, as a notable hap-pines in *Antoninus Pius*, that through his iustice, prudence, and fortitude, there arose not any warres amongst the Romanes for 23. yéeres together: which happeneth generally by the due distribution and execution of iustice and equitie. What then may be said in our Chronicles of that our late gracious and auspicious planet of Christendome Queene *Elizabeth*, whose beams **G** yet after the dissolution of her mortalitie so diuinely shine amongst vs, in those Lawes established and taught vnto vs whilst she raigned ouer vs; who (sauing some fewe moneths) doubled those yeeres of happiness vpon her people in admirable honor, peace and plentie?

It is sooth, and well answereþ to the lore of wisedome, that all policies States, or Common-weales are most corrupt, wherein there be many lawes established: forsoomuch as it is presupposed that where multitudes of crimes and vices predominate of strange and diuers qualities, diuers vnusuall and **H** strange lawes are necessarily made to restraine them; or if they be preordained to correct or prohibit vices which are not & yet may happen, then it is as dangerous in regard of that expressed in this poeticall sentence, *Gens humana ruit in veritum nefas*: For *Adams* children naturally lust after the forbidden fruit. Not many Bookes which confound mens memorie with heapes of words and matter, but few substantiall and necessarie: referring all peticie things, not being nefarious, to the censure of venerable magistrates (which will not suffer a sparke to make a flame) and not to the written Letter of *Pænall Lawes*; considering how the meane ministers and executioners of them which search out, inquire, and informe of such offences, doe commonly more prejudice then benefit and honestie to the Commonwealth: For wee know that by Gods I finger all the lawes both diuine and humane were within a paire of marble Tables comprised in a compendious Decalogue.

The reports and causes of our common-lawes and iudgements haue appeared in two points that the former Kings of this Realme, as king *Edward* the third, *Henrie* the fourth, *Henrie* the fift, *Henrie* the sixt, *Edward* the fourth, *Richard* the third, *Henry* the seventh with prudent inspection found that necessitie, which required a luculent interpretation of the difficult points in our Common-lawes: wherepon they by the faithfull conference of foure most reuerend and learned Judges in the Lawes, following the sage example of that most wise and victorious Emperor *Justinianus* before mentioned, did each of them in their seuerall raignes cause the genuine and very fence by **K** specious enucleation of all intricate or equiuocall points and cases to be cleared & explained; to the end that all other Judges or Iustices which exceeded in administration of them, might at the first sight with commendable perspicuitie deliuer the faithfull substance of all, as occasion was offered for the peo- ples

A ples good, hauing digested them into nine Volumes of the Lawes, wherin the whole essence of all by those reuerend Law-fathers was most methodically couched. For as the difference of all creatures by nature proceedeth from vnitie, resembling many flowers sprouting from one roote: even so doe sundrie needfull and most beneuolent Lawes receiue life and nature from the precious wisedom of God; the blessed and all-healing fountaine of whose knowledge he with ineffable grace and diuine beneficence openeth to them all that are studious of righteousnesse, and in tender loue with respect vnto man, being the choise operation of his handes doth retaine him by the due feare and loue of iustice and saluation, in eternall tranquilitie. The generall benefit calmly and plentifully redounding from those Bookes, iudgements, reports and Law-cases by the enucleation of those learned law-men (as is before expressed) includeth the second point.

B

Forsomuch as concerneth humane Lawes which are ordained by nature, and published by the prince (which by them gouerneth the Commonwealth to relieue and rectifie the same) they must be iust and possible, needfull and profitable, plaine, prescribed not to priuate but to publike vse and benefit, consenting with time and place, according to the nature and custome of the Countrey which should be moderated by them: such as are our statutelawes of *England*. Vpon these thus ordained and prouided against faultes, a knowledge shewing the difference of crimes and vices dependeth: As whether the nature of the consist in impietie by violation of the first table of Gods lawes through foolish prophanation, or derrogation of or from his omnipotent power and maiestie; or if it be flagitious and repugnant to the second, importing impietie towards parents and magistrates, the defamation or contumelies of neighbours, the concupisence and losse of liuelihoods and liues, wherevpon parricides and horrible slaughters are bred. Towards which legall office or ministerie, three speciall things generally would be required in a Judge: the first of which is in his head to retaine a firme and venerable grauitie, confirmed in his countenance with some serious kinde of awfull maiestie, through his continuall meditation vpon the iust iudgements of God with the

C

D charge vpon him imposed; which by the diuine gift of heauenly iustice must be fostered in his heart, that all proceedings drawne from thence may be seasoned with the grauitie of his cogitations, which in excellent discretion will point out to him the time, person, and place, when, to whom, and where hee should shew iustice naked, or inuested with mercie. So that by the iustice of his heart, which ministreth wisedome and grauitie to his head; and by the seuere and precise prudence of his head, which inblazoned in a stedfast countenance a stout maiestie withall; and by the comely grace of his countenance which admirably shadoweth all in a decent austertie, there may be due reuerence and feare drawne to the person of a Judge on every side about him; infusing horror to the malicious and wicked, with loue and reuerence to good and iust persons, hauing his tong so sanctified and feared with zealous praier, and with a liuely cole taken from the blessed Altar by the sacred Cherubine, that it may become th'oracle of Gods iustice, and the iust herald of a sincere

E

heart. For if grauitie should not appeare in all his iudgements, then shall he be suspected of a partiall & foolish lentitude : which opinion (when it is once vulgarly conceiued) will preiudice him either in his reputation, or in administration of the Lawes. This reputation or authoritie likewise is by the first three properties delineated to life; the restraint whereof will disaduantage him in his honour, which by such demeanor will be blemished with some misprizion or suspect of corruption. There is likewise in every wise Judge expedient a mature experience in sutes and variances, by defect whereof his ignorance deeply woundeth, or rather maimeth him. Lastly, the mindes constancie corroborateth him in the perfeccion of all, declaring that in the whole course of all his iudgements, iustice alone without priuate affection preuaileth. Neither is it meeet but most vnfit, that any man should sit on throne of iudgement or giue sentence when his owne cause is heard or discussed : least affection vsurpe vpon, and defile the tongue of magistracie, least the reuerend custome of iudgement be violated, least that maiestie whereof I spoke (which is meeet for the sage tribunall and court of equitie) be diminished, least a mischievous example corrupting the people be drawne on with it, and finally least a contempt of the Lawes and equitie do succced it. Now somewhat concerning that abilitie which strengthneth Judges, and iuridicall magistrates in the administration of publike cauies.

It is therefore principally to be considered, that they (which sit vpon this honourable throne of iudgement, and take place, to giue place vnto the due distribution of right, and are firmly planted for the sure supplantation of those contageous vices, which being but a little licenced would disperse and spread through all parts of the Common-weales most beautifull bodie, defiling it with a foule and virulent leprosie) stand deeply bound in a double recognisance of soule and bodie to be studious and industrious in the science and iudicall practis of that wholesome physicke, which must be frequently ministred to the diseased members of that State: In which (their iudgements being credited) may be by the Prince allowed and iustified also: for if they doe not yeeld euен law and execution of right to all subiects rich and poore, without hauing regard to any person, and without letting to doe right for any letters or commandement which may come to them from the prince or king, or from any other by any other cause, then are they by our Lawes thus censured worthily: Their bodies, lands and goods to rest at the kings pleasure, who shall otherwise giue iudgement or sentence of and against them. The King himself also which is head and iudge of the Lawes, sheweth great goodnesse & equitie through the world, in shewing his royll assent and contentment that these judges substituted vnder him shall giue sentence according to the Cannon and true meaning of iustice, euен against himselfe directly, if he through negligence be driuen vniuersally to maintaine any sute with a priuate person, which will not beare euен in the ballance of equitie; in which that kingly sentence is verified, that therein *differt a rege Tyrannus*: for nothing more then this doth to life expresse a true kings glorie. The kings of our nation to confirme this perfect honor of a iust prince, in one act of Parliament ordained

*Cap. I. Anno regis  
regis Edw. 3. 15.*

F

G

H

I

K

# The third Booke of Offices.

141

A ordained in the second yeere of king Edward the third, are limited: *Thas al. cap. 8.*

*though they commaund by their great, or priuise seales to delay any cause in iudicall dependance proceeding by course of law; yet shall the iudges proceede with mature expedition according to iustice, notwithstanding any precept from them directed.* For what can be said more to the disgracing and disrobing of any king, then that which *Freigius* in the latter end of his politcall questions citeth out of a certayne oration of *Scartarius* against tyrannie. *Tu iusticiam imperabis & interim tamen iniuriam alijs facies? tu officium commendabis & ab officij religione deflectes?* As if he should say: Why wouldest thou be king to command men to deale iustly, giuing in proper person example of wrong done to others?

B How canst thou command men for doing of their dueties and offices, when thou thy selfe transgressest thy funtions and dueties?

Thus if princes or iudges should preuaricat but a little, the their laws (which ought to be the iudges of euery iust prince) will restraine and reforme them. And if those lawes be dissonant to the spirit of charitie, trueth and equities, the the diuine power & sapience of God (which are the very iudges of all laws, princes, & iudges on earth) wil correct & punish them with their ministers. Let therefore no partall respect of power, neither priuate affection, nor vnexcusale ignorance of those laws which any iudge stewardeth, blemish his iudgments. For if he be partall let him consider with himselfe that it proceedeth from affection or corruption which both are incorporate; & that it cannot be

C hidden from many men amongst infinite which behold and heare him from so conspicuous a place, where all mens eyes are fixed vpon his maiestie: and therefore (according to *Salust*) *equos bonosque fauere debet ut eius benefacta reipub. procedant*, he must fauour men which are iust and good, that he may declare himselfe beneficent towards the Commonwealth. And if he be led by affection, let him consider how fallacious a passion it is, oftentimes opposite to reason even in the men of honestest natures and constitutions, shewing a kind of charitie for the most part, whereit falsefieh the vertue, pulling downe of a mountaine to raise a molehill; and to satisfie his affected, commonly to deieet and make ruinous such aduersaries which percase even in a worse case

*Bell. Iniquit.*

D deserue much more affection. Lastly, but specially let him haue a speciall care to be skilfull in those lawes which he deliuereh and administreth: for otherwise his honor is onerous and insupportable. For if he shall with all graue and profound prudence consider how chargeable and iust accompt will be required at his hands, that hauiug much committed to his trust his accompts will arise to great summes, not of monies and pounds, but of men and people; the noblest worke of diuine nature, the creature in whom so soone as he was created the creator himselfe exceedingly reioyced, and tooke so great pleasure,

E that, when through his owne preuarication he was taken captiue to sinne, hell, and death, he ransomed him in the tender and vnspeakeable loue of his holy spirit, in the most precious blood of his deare sonne Christ Iesus the righteous sacrifice of his vnrighteousnesse. If therefore he counterpoise in equall scales of diuine reason, the sacred allegiance in which he liueth spiritually bound vnto God; the faithfull obedience wherein he standeth bodily subie-

T iii

cted

eted to his prince ; the zealous duetie which doth by nature invite him to stude the weale of his countrey, pondering these with his naked conscience hee will not only refuse those honors and dignities to sit in iudgement vpon Gods beloued people vnworthily, or vnskilfully, but rather will choose a death accompanied with the languishing sting of infinite tortures. Albeit as *Salust* thinketh. *Plerosque non ijsdem arribus imperii petere & postquam adepti sunt generare ; primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse, dehinc per ignaniam & superbiam easem agere* : That many princes differ in their acquisition and governement of a kingdome : because vpon the first they shew themselues industrious suppliant and temperate, afterward in sloth, idlenesse and pride passe their liues. Euery king, iudge, and ruler of the people therefore, ought to ponder with him selfe how great a part of the Commonweales hope dependeth vpon him, which he should with his vertues and innocencie protect, whereas all other meanes are forcelesse. Yea verely the iudge representeth in himselfe the person of that Commonwealth, where he ministreth : wherefore he should sustaine the state and honor thereof by conseruation and administration of iustice bearing in carefull remembrance, the trust of those things which are repos'd in him. A iudge is as it were an eye fixed in the kings scepter, a priest of diuine iustice and equitie, a moderator of the lawes, the life of righteousnesse, whose voyce is the pronoucer and preseruer of life and death, a publike interpreter of the lawes, vnto whom as to a common sanctuarie, all persons oppressed with dammages & iniuries repaire and refuge themselues to be relieved in equity. And euen as iust iudgement is fitly defined to be the ballance of equitie, the voyce of lawes, and consummation of all strife and variance, so is the iudge properly called th'interpreter of those lawes, the steward of equitie, and oracle of the Commonwealth.

They therefore that are fit and worthy to sit vpon the throne of equitie, ought sincerely to be good men, seuere, incorrupt, obdurate against flatterers, impatient of smooth tales, and secret detraction, vnmercifull to them that are remediless, inexorable in waightie causes of iudgement, and such as will not transgresse the precincts of iustice in any case : for according to the discretion of *Aulus Gellius* they must distribute to the king and begger equall measure without inclination or passion towards any mans estate or person : as it was most diuinely shadowed in that misticall order of the *Areopagites* being a counsell in *Athens*, consisting of sixtie citizens which successiuely through all offices and degrees of honor at length attained place vpon the seate of iustice to deale in affaires of state, and in tempestuous times to prouide that the Commonwealth should endure no prejudice. These in the darkest season of the night would decide causes in iudgement, at such time as they might heare and not see the parties appealed. Hence it is that *Cicero* saith, *Vir bonus ponit personam amici cum induit iudicis* : A good man layeth apart the person of a friend when he taketh upon him the place of a iudge. And therefore iudges, as saith that most reverend Emperour *Justinianus* must sacrifice pure and vncorrupt hands to God, to the king, and to the law : least that curse fall vpon them which our Sauiour Christ denounced against the Pharises ; *Woe be to you interpreters of the*

# The third Booke of Offices.

143

A the Lawe, for you haue taken away the key of knowledge, you did not enter in your *Lake 5.*  
selues; and them that would haue entred you forbad.

Amongst other politike Lawes in *Deuonomie*, deliuering from Gods mouth to the sacred prince his seruant *Moses*, it was commanded that in all the partes of their people and nations assembled, Judges should be constituted which might iustly iudge the people, poising the ballance of equitie with *euene hand and bribelesse*; for *somuch as bribes bleare ihe sightes of sage men, making conrefeteis the words of iust magistrates*. And hence was that prohibition either of acceptation or exception for or against any sorts of persons. It is a notable sentence left vnto Judges by that most religious and honest king *Iosaphas* high-

B ly worth the consideration; *Looke vnto iyou that are Judges, for you do not execute the lawes of men, bus of God, and according to your innocencie & equitie so shall your iudgements be rewarded*. For these and such indifferent respects, Justice is fitly resembled to the helme in a shipp which being misgilded, endangereth the vessel, pilote, officers, and failers; representing the realme, prince, magistrates, and people.

Vpon this misrule, or misguidance of the Common-wealth by corrupt iudgement or iniquitie, whereupon the deuouring tempests of iniurie, contumelies, and deceits arise, Kingdomes (by Gods iust iudgement and indigation) are translated from one nation to another, roiall families extinguished,

C and the prince with his people oftentimes subuerted, as is verily frequent vnto them that with diligence read histories in example.

I will now speake somewhat touching their administration of Iustice in ciuill matters, which is either declared in causes litigious brought before them, for the tryall of lands and goods; or in penall cases for transgressing Lawes in some one of the three parts of iustice which they violate: wherein the conscience of the Judge with the causes of equitie, should make the true ballance of right. Penall cases for priuate transgressions be semblably referred in forme (though not altogether in substance) to the Judges discreet conscience. This onely should remaine euer greene in his memorie, that all iudgements in ci-

D uill causes be well attempered with a mercifull benignitie, if the nature and qualities of the faults and delinquent permit. First therfore it is to be weighed, that all offences either respect the contumelies of persons comprehending iniurie, th' expence or losse of goods including damages; and offences or hurtes done to people, including maymes and slaughters. Iniurie therefore are hurtes proceeding from a voluntarie and malicious heart, thirsting or hunting after hurt of others. Damages include losse procured by the delinquent, either through vniust molestation by sutes vniustly commenced of any nature, where the innocent is impouerished; or by violent rapine, theft, or extortiōn. Offences and hurtes are of diuers natures, either by riots, affrayes,

E conspiracies, or murtheis of themselues, as principals, or by subornate persons and assistants, as accessaries, acted, & executed. And herein is to be considered, that all maner of wrongs and iniustice, proceed either from election and will, perturbation and appetite, ignorance and vnderstanding, euene as in contrary those actions which are iust, are operations, or proceedings deriued from the

Bell. iugurth.

the fountaine or habite of iustice. For the iudgement of all iust actions rest in them according to that of *Salust*, *Quibus præ magnitudine expeditius & insurias omnes cura esse decet*: To whose care (according to the limits of their Commission or circuit) all rights and wrongs are referred. Which right and wrong is twofold according to the Lawes, consisting vpon accusation and defensio[n]s which last depending vpon lawfull maintenance is thought by the Law-men to be more laudable then the other.

Prov. 14.

These principles thus considered with the qualities of the persons and offences, the reuerend Judge shall finde it engrauen with the true penne of di[n]e iudgement and reason in his owne conscience in what sort, to whom, and when to shew clemencie. Certaine it is, that mercy most gracieh the person and mouth of a Judge, if it be modefied with good prudence, and grounded vpon a discreet chariti[n]: for he shas *h[ab]et mercie* is blessed faith *Salomon*. And in the 19. Chapter of the same, the *Lord will exchange his mercie for his*; intimating also that he will haue mercie, and not sacrifice: Forasmuch as *his mercie reacheh from generation to generation of shose that feare him*. If therefore Judges will graciously consider the forme and glorious fashion of Gods mercie-seat (which besides many gorgeous and most specious ornaments, was by Gods speciall direction and commandement, compassed with a most precious crowne of finest gold) it shall be comfortably shewed vnto H

Exod. 25. 30-36.

them how much he respected the throne of his mercie, which was many degrees exalted aboue his seat of iudgement. They should therefore shew mercie with cheerfulnesse, as Saint *Paul* counselleth the *Romanes*, *For he which watereth shall be refreshed with raine: according to Salomon, Nothing so much beautifieth the grautie, person, and maiestie of a Judge, as when his seruere iustice is delayed with clemencie*. Which *Vulcanius Gallicus* calleth a kingly qualitie: and he which would conciliate peace, loue, and obedience amongst men, must gouerne with a languishing or unwilling hand to strike home, as grieuing or repining at the punishment. Hence is that saying of *Ciceron*; *Nihil quod crudelte vnde: est enim hominum natura (quam maxime sequi debemus) maxime inimica crudelitas*;

Chap. 12.

Nothing cruell can be profitable: for the greatest enemie to nature (which we should especially follow) is crueltie. Such was that renouned and prudenter Consull his speech (whom in other places I cited before) in one Oration

Prov. 11.

Salust. ad Cef. de repub. ord.

to *Caius Caesar*: *Neque quisquam te ad crudeles penas aut acerba iudicia invocet, quibus ciuitas vastatur magis quam corrigitur; sed ut prauas artes, malaque libidines ab iuuentur prohibeas*: Let no man prouoke thee to inflict cruell, or award ouer seuer[e] sentences, which rather confoundeth then correcteth any Commonwealth, but only to restraine Youth from wicked courses & lusts. Judges therefore should so punish, *Vt metus absit, charitas reineatur*: To keepe out feare, & retaine loue. And therfore those Judges & rulers of the people which pinch and gird them extreamly, sequestring or abrogating their liberties, with more then a competent seueritie stand themselues in most danger: for their hearts cannot be so lowly depressed but that they will finde a time to peepe vp againe. Whereupon *Ciceron* most fagely censureth of that point, *Acrores sum morsus insermissa libertatis quæ resenta*. A libertie intermitted biteth neerer the bone

ofic. 2.

K

A bone then a restrained libertie. It behoueth them therfore in their iudgements to bridle their wrath: because men in rage for the time doe nothing, neither consider of any thing as is right. *Antoninus Pius* the Emperor vsed to say that *mercie was it which adopted Cæsar into fellowship of the gods, & onely mercie which consecrated Augustus amongst men.* Howbeit, I doe not in any case wrest vnto that excesse of lenitie, which the Phylosophers call *Lentitude*, being a vice of the minde which breedeth an exceeding securitie with dissolute maneris and behauisour in men. For he that vpon the former consideracions would seuerely punish some vices in certaine persons, shold not admit when times are dangerous a small fault to escape vnpunished; but prouide so that it may

B be with moderation and clemencie chastised, punishing nefarious and hainous crimes with due serueritie for examples. And so much concerning mercie by discreet mitigation of punishment. In other places, where seueritie should take force, as occasion shall offer.

C It is not permitted that a Judge shold command and prohibite what he list himselfe without legall warrant, albeit it might rest in his arbitrament: yet whereas all articles cannot be seuerally comprised in the Lawes, and for somuch as many circumstances breed doubts, in such cases men are referred to the conscience and religion of the Judge, neerly to determine by course of iustice according to sinceritie: further scope then this is not permitted vnto any, being by that benefit freed from perill of punishment though he giue sentence against the Law: for the case not being throughly discussed yeeldeth him some colour for excuse; excepting alwayes in litigious cases that it resteth not in his power to giue away the goods proper of any man, beyond the limits of reason and equitie. That kinde of iustcying which is said to bee common amongst the Turkes, is in my judgement very tollerable and soone ended: for the Judge closing his eyes giueth eare, pondereth, pronounceth, and dispatcheth the most part of causes very commendably, freeing and releasing the sutors from expence of time and monie: both which inconueniences happen vpon the processe of our Lawes in Christendome. For

D it had beene oftentimes better that he which hath iustice to guard his good cause, should in commencement thereof haue let his sute fall; then after a long and litigious dependance buy the iudgement of it with more chardge then the maine was worth, being onely referred to the credite of iust victorie for his meede. Moreouer by such dilatory meanes it often happeneth that white is died into blacke, either through deceit, corruption, or ignorance of the Judge, and elsewhere by the rigor and false interpretation of the Lawes. Howbeit to noble minded men, which are able to forbear (if the sute proceede from misprision or some misconstruction, and not from any litigious humour of the aduersarie) I deeme it a principall tipe of their honours,

E and much auaylable (as *Cicero* saith) *Pauum nonnunquam de suo iure dece- Lib. off. 2. dere.*

In administration of ciuill causes also, there is one most commendable part requisite in a iudge, that he withdraw his hands from the rewards of priuate or poore persons, which would gladly giue somewhat for fauour in their iust

and honest causes. For judges of that nature are blinded with auarice whose fashion is to make a gaine of all causes both honest and dishonest: hence was it that judges *lege Clodia* were prohibited to take any rewards of persons in suite. In speciall all such rewards and gratifications as are giuen either to further a good or a bad cause (sauing the fees lawfully limited to the judges and pleaders, in regard of their salaries and paines) are dissallowable; and if any be tollerable then onely such as are taken by them of great princes which reward their paines in aduancement of iustice onely: For such as sell iustice and truth are abhominable, and so bethose also which take gifts of any man to further a faultie: for in that false participation if he further him, then doth he manifest **G** violence to iustice; and if not, then doth he deceiue the briber of his money, both which are abiect and contemptible: these may well be called mercenarie judges and corrupt hirelings.

Now somewhat so short as I can, concerning the knowledge and studies required in judges & iudicall magistrates. The due reverence and feare of Gods omnipotent vertue which illuminateth his vnderstanding, perfecteth his wisdome, amplifieth his maestic, refresheth his spirits, & corroborateth all his iudgements, must aboue all things before and after iudgement, and continually with a zealous and effectuall prayer from a soule blessedly breathing after spirituall consolation, be principally retained. And therefore it is written by **H** *Moyses*, that *judges should be men of courage, fearing God, dealing truly, loathing auarice*. And for this cause the Prophet *David* calleth them Gods saying, that all *the children of the most high doe right and iustice unto the fasherleſſe, poore, and needie*. His ordinarie studies therfore for pleasure and ornament are best approued in the sweete concord of morall Philosophie which will enable and confirme him in his profession and conuersation: this teacheth him how iustice is a vertue yeelding *every man what is his owne, and willing all men to discharge their dues*. *Cicero* calleth her the Queene and mistresse of all the other vertues; because she taketh perfection from the rest being as it were a **I** concordance or harmonie of all the parts when appetite subiecteth it selfe to reason. It is also an affection of the mind iustifying all men beneuolently, and cherishing humaine societie; this is also called equitie which in even ballance pondreth every mans right answerable to desert and dignitie. *Aristotle* termeth it an affection of mind *enabling men to doe iustly which kindeleth in them a zeale or feruent desire of equitie*. It is according to *M. Bodine* a kind of Geometrie, which being disanulled *drowneth the concorde and societie of cities*: it teacheth the difference betwixt honesties and their contraries, is poyneth out the extremes of good and euill, is directeth how to rule priuate families, it sheweth what authoritie and offices are proper to fashers, husbands, and masters, is declareth the maintenance of a priuate state, it instructeth persons in the vertues and discipline **K** of a magistrate, it describeth the forme of a Commonwealth, it prescribeth the true meanes and knowledge to sustaine cities which are in danger of subuersion, it denieth excellens lawes and statutes to rectifie them; conclusiuely the surest and firmest foundations of Empire are good lawes moderating and measuring out all liberall sciences and good arts. Which good lawes (as *Freigius* calleth them)

Exod. 18.

Psal. 83.

Lib. 5. Ethicoru.

Lib. 6. cap. 6.

A them) are the mistresses of vertue commanding people in their liuing to demeane themselues honestly and profitably with a restraint or prohibition of things bad, and the contrary.

Iustice according to some learned moralists is knownen by these attributes or qualities : first she will not challenge any thing which is not her owne ; then she doth neglect her owne priuate lucre in respect ifshe may thereby further the common equitie. There be sixe kindes of Iustice according to some very learned philosophers, and they should seeme to be very certaine: one iustice is legall, being a kind of voluntarie affection to doe and desire iust things ; and by this legall iustice are men wholie bent and inclined for the benefit of their contrey. The second a morall iustice which I prementioned out

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ample

# The third Booke of Offices.

149

A ample of which hainous contempts or contumelies, remaineth to vs in the person of blessed *Paul* the Apostle; who being appealed before the high Priest *Ananias* for his diuine and most eloquent exordium of his Apologie *viua voce*, saying that hee had to that day serued God, was maliced or emulated rather by the Judge; which hauing despiteously interrupted his period, commanded a souldier then present to strike him, who did accordingly buffet his face: whereupon *Paul* in anguish of spirit moued, said to the high Priest; *God will smite thee, thou painted wall: for thou sittest to iudge me according to the Law, and commandest thou me to be smitten contrary to the Law?* then certaine that stood by told him that he did not well to reuile the high Priest; which he presently acknowledging in ignorance, as not hauing considered what magistrate he was, said: *It is written, thou shalt not rail upon the Judges, nor speake euill of the ruler of the people.* From hence matureth the disobedience of children and people towardes parents, magistrates, and towards their Countrie: from whence, issue scornfulness, contempt of reverence and dutie. Principall actors in this Scène of diuels, are paricides, traitors to their Soueraignes and countrie, murtherers, and trecherors vnto their masters, with others, such as are of the venomous spirit of *Cayne*.

Dutie being by disobedience confronted, herein looseth his prerogative, that stubbornesse (which taketh root in pride) contumeliously reiecteth it.

Hence is that fottiſh ſelfe-doting, louing and ouer-pleasing of men, with hypocriticall obedience exhibited vnto true vertues, and a readie willingnesse to commit idolatrie by the ſervice of profane and dihonest affections.

Immanitie with lenitie combate againſt iuft vindication, ſpecified in theſe two properties: when the correction is greater then the fault, and therefore is the Prouerbe, *Cupido & ira p̄fimi ſunt conſulſores*: Lust and wrath are the worſt counſellors: and ſpecially wrath is to be vehemently ſuppreſſed in a Judge, leaſt he ſtaine his hands in innocent blood, which is a thing ſo odious in the ſight of God and man, as nothing can be more abhominable: Hence was that ſaying of the noble morall Tragoedian; *Index futurus ſanguinehamano abſtine*:

D If thou wilt be a Judge, abſtaine from humane blood. ſeneca in Hor. fornic.

Lenitie then appeareth in a Judge, when by pardoning of wicked perſons he ſuffereth a miſchiefe to fall vpon good men, and therefore this lenitide is ſo great a ſinne, as immanitie: neither ſhould any Judge in the caſe of his countrie, giue any ſentence vpon father, countrey-men, or brethren contrarie to iuſtice; leaſt a dangerous example and ſcandal be taken.

E Lyes, calumnie, fraud, hypocriſie, diſſimulation, and arrogancie ſtand at defiue with veritie; what enemies theſe be vnto the ſoule of man, and vnto publike gouernement, I referre to mens priuate conſciences. For calumnie praiſeth vice, rebuketh vertue: hypocriſie doth fooliſhly, inaſciously, and fraudulemently diſpraiſe thoſe in their abſence whom in preſence ſhe commen- deth; and in like caſe the reſt. There is one moſt pernicious diſease ingendred of theſe humors, which being very riſe in ſome princes courtes I may not for- get. The condiſion is in killing, impriſoning and vndoing certaine perſons,

V iiij. and

and honest causes. For judges of that nature are blinded with auarice whose fashion is to make a gaine of all causes both honest and dishonest : hence was it that judges *lege Clodia* were prohibited to take any rewards of persons in suite. In speciall all such rewards and gratifications as are giuen either to further a good or a bad cause (sauing the fees lawfully limited to the judges and pleaders, in regard of their salaries and paines) are dissallowable ; and if any be tollerable then onely such as are taken by them of great princes which reward their paines in aduancement of iustice onely : For such as sell iustice and truth are abhominable, and so bethose also which take gifts of any man to further a faultie : for in that false participation if he further him, then doth he manifest violence to iustice ; and if not, then doth he deceiue the briber of his money, both which are abiect and contemptible: these may well be called mercenarie judges and corrupt hirelings.

Now somewhat so short as I can, concerning the knowledge and studies required in judges & iudicall magistrates. The due reuerence and feare of Gods omnipotent vertue which illuminateth his vnderstanding, perfecteth his wisdome, amplifieth his maestic, refresheth his spirits, & corroborateth all his iudgements, must aboue all things before and after iudgement, and continually with a zealous and effectuall prayer from a soule blessedly breathing after spirituall consolation, be principally retained. And therefore it is written by

*Exod. 18.*

*Psal. 82.*

*Moyses*, that *judges should be men of courage, fearing God, dealing truely, loathing auarice*. And for this cause the Prophet *David* calleth them Gods saying, that all *the children of the most high doe right and iustice unto the fasherlesse, poore, and needie*. His ordinarie studies therfore for pleasure and ornament are best approued in the sweete concord of morall Philosophie which will enable and confirme him in his profession and conuersation : this teacheth him how iustice is a vertue yeelding *every man what is his owne, and willing all men to discharge their dues*. *Cicero* calleth her the Queene and mistresse of all the other vertues ; because she taketh perfection from the rest being as it were a concordance or harmonie of all the parts when appetite subiecteth it selfe to reason. It is also an affection of the mind iustifying all men beneuolently, and cherishing humaine societie ; this is also called equitie which in even ballance pondreth every mans right answerable to desert and dignitie.

*Lib. 5. Ethicoru.*

*Lib. 6. cap. 6.*

*Aristotle* termeth it an affection of mind *enabling men to doe iustly which kinaleth in them a zeale or feruent desire of equitie*. It is according to *M. Bodine* a kind of Geometrie, which being disanulled drowneth the concorde and societie of cities : it teacheth the difference betwixt honesties and their contraries, is pointeth out the extreames of good and euill, is directeth how to rule priuate families, it sheweth what authorisities and offices are proper to fathers, husbands, and masters, is declarereth the maintenance of a priuate state, it instructeth persons in the vertues and discipline of a magistrate, it describeth the forme of a Commonwealth, is prescriberh the true meanes and knowledge to sustaine cities which are in danger of subuersion, it deniseth excellents lawes and statutes to rectifie them ; conclusiue the surest and firmest foundations of Empire are good lawes moderating and measuring out all liberall sciences and good arts. Which good lawes (as *Freigius* calleth them)

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Justice according to some learned moralists is knownen by these attributes or qualitie : first she will not challenge any thing which is not her owne ; then she doth neglect her owne priuate lucre in respect if she may thereby further the common equitie. There be sixe kindes of Iustice according to some very learned philosophers, and they should seeme to be very certaine : one iustice is legall, being a kind of voluntarie affection to doe and desire iust things ; and by this legall iustice are men wholie bent and inclined for the benefit of their contrey. The second a morall iustice which I prementioned out of th' imperiall institutions being a constant and perpetuall will, yeelding each man his owne. The third a kind of exchanging or commutuall iustice keeping a precise and religious equalitie of things amongst men. The fourth is a iustice distributiuē by which every man is out of the common charge of his contrey rewarded and relieved according to demerite. The fifth is a coniunctiuē iustice, appliable to persons and causes tyed together in any termes of iustice. And the sixt is disiunctiuē, alluding to causes and persons which are not by any meanes of equitie compared or knit together.

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**A** ample of which hainous contempts or contumelies, remaineth to vs in the person of blessed *Paul* the Apostle; who being appealed before the high Priest *Ananias* for his diuine and most eloquent exordium of his Apologie *in* *voce*, saying that hee had to that day serued God, was maliced or emulated rather by the Judge; which hauing dispiteously interrupted his period, commanded a souldier then present to strike him, who did accordingly buffet his face: whereupon *Paul* in anguish of spirit mowed, said to the high Priest; *God will smite thee, thou painted wall: for thou art to iudge me according to the Law, and commandest thou me to be smitten contrary to the Law?* then certaine that stood by told him that he did not well to reuile the high Priest; which he presently acknowledging in ignorance, as not hauing considered what magistrate he was, said: *It is written, thou shalt not rail upon the Judges, nor speake evil of the ruler of the people.* Actu. 23. From hence matureth the disobedience of children and people towarde parents, magistrates, and towards their Countrie: from whence, issue scornfulness, contempt of reverence and dutie. Principall actors in this Scène of diuels, are parricides, traitors to their Soueraignes and countrie, murtherers, and trecherors vnto their masters, with others, such as are of the venemous spirit of *Cayne*.

Dutie being by disobedience confronted, herein looseth his prerogatiue, that stubbornnesse (which taketh root in pride) contumeliously reiecteth it. Hence is that fottish selfe-doting, louing and ouer-pleasing of men, with **C** hypocriticall obedience exhibited vnto true vertues, and a readie willingnesse to commit idolatrie by the service of profane and dishonest affections.

Immanitie with Jenitie combate against iust vindication, specified in these two properties: when the correction is greater then the fault, and therefore is the Prouerbe, *Cupido & ira pessimi sunt consolatores*: Lust and wrath are the worst counsellors: and specially wrath is to be vehemently suppressed in a Judge, least he staine his hands in innocent blood, which is a thing so odious in the sight of God and man, as nothing can be more abominable: Hence was that saying of the noble morall Tragoedian; *Index fururus sanguineus*.

**D** *ne hamano abstine*: If thou wilt be a Judge, abstaine from humane blood. Scenes in Hor. Lenitie then appeareth in a Judge, when by pardoning of wicked persons he suffereth a mischiefe to fall vpon good men, and therefore this lenitude is so great a sinne, as immanitie: neither should any Judge in the case of his countrey, glorie any sentence vpon father, countrey-men, or brethren contrarie to iustice; least a dangerous example and scandall be taken.

**E** Lyes, calumnies, fraud, hypocrisy, dissimulation, and arrogancie stand at defiance with veritie; what enemies these be vnto the soule of man, and vnto publike gouernement, I referre to mens priuate consciences. For calumnie praiseth vice, rebuketh vertue: hypocrisy doth foolishly, maliciously, and fraudulently dispraise those in their absence whom in presence she commendeth; and in like case the rest. There is one most pernicious disease engendred of these humors, which being very rife in some princes courts I may not forget. The condition is in killing, imprisoning and vndoing certaine persons,

Offices

and some of good desert, which in the politicke Courtier of *Duro di pascolo*, feemeth commonly to be bent against noble Gentlemen, of greatest respect, honest, innocent, and vncouuicted: these being brought vnto the pits brinck, are many times charged and surcharged with treasonable or nefarious accusations, wherein they perish; as *Petro de Vineis*, *Aluaro de Luna*, *Giacobo Corde*, *Christophoro Colombo*, *Philip de Comynes*, with other very wise and honourable Counsellors, euen of our fathers times and of our memories, which did in such cases miscary: neither is it safe or behooffull that I particularize. This is a kinde of iniustice and close malice, necessarily to be fisted being wholy composed of diabolicall wilynesse. Wherefore they cannot be very noble, that foster in their rancorous hearts such maliciofnesse: and if there rest in any heroycall spirits, the least spiracle which should seeme to taste of that contagious humour it is emulation onely: for we finde in *Cicero*, that *Nobiles si virtute valent magis amuli quam innuidi bonorum sunt*: Noblemen which are possessed of vertue, doe rather emulate them maligne good men. And albeit this vice of emulation resteth amongst Nobles & Paladynes which is most glorious being applied to vertuous and honourable purposes, as in contending to become most iust, valiant, temperate, learned, active, or excellent in any such manly qualities then the rest; yet to maligne others for their perfections and better properties should seeme most vnnaturall, base, and brutish: and therefore elegantly *Cicero* citing the same out of *Crisippus* resembleth them, to H such as runne together in one race for a wager, in these wordes; *Qui stadium curri eni & contendere debet quam maxime posse ut vincat: supplantare eum quocum certas aut cubito depellere nullo modo debet. Sic in vita sibi quemque pertere quod pertineat ad usum: non iniquum est: deripere ius honestatis*. Hee that runneth a race, ought to worke and contend with all possible meanes to winne the wager: hee may not in any case supplant him with whom he contendeth, or strike him backe with his elbow. Semblaby, that is not vnsit which a man necessarily craueth for the sustinance or support of his life, but forceably to take away from men that which is theis, is mere iniquitie.

There is a Lesson which *Cicero* vehemently mooueth and vrgeth, and in this case fit to be considered vpon, by learned and graue Judges; not to summon, or appeale any man in causes criminall, if he finde in his heart the parties innocencie so slandered or indited: because it cannot bee done without great chagre and torture of conscience. For what can be found more rigorous and vnmannerly then to peruer that eloquence (which God, with nature hath giuen for the comfort and conseruation of men) vnto the shame and ruine of honest persons? Which charitable equabilitie hath bin obserued in some worthy Law-fathers of this land: and amongst others manie times in one principall minister of his Maiesties pleadings of whom vnnamed, I may speake a truth without adulatyon, that it hath seemed doubtfull to wise-men, whether he were in *Probarum defensionibus*, *quam in sceleratarum accusationibus magis acer*: more vehement in his Apologies for good and honest men in their good causes, or earnest in his inuictives or informations against nefarious and wicked persons. For such ought to be the care of iust Judges as *Cice-*

**A** so writeth, *Vt iuris & iudiciorum aequitatem suum quisque teneat*: That through the equitie of iustice and iudgement, every man may retaine his right.

I speake this as a necessarie caueat or monition against calumnies and envy, which hath bene the deuouring caterpiller of so many vertuous and gallant princes and Commonwealthes men, that haue thereby perished, because that restlesse hagge malice commonly doth more mischefe then fortune: and therefore if men which are set vpon the stage of honour and reputation can finde out a soueraigne preseruatiue against her venime; then doe they shew great wisedome possessing this world in quiet. For sure it is that *Vnos inter dum fortuna, saepe inuidia fatigat*. Fortune some times toyleth liuing creatures, but envy

**B** vexeth them often.

Gratitude being another branch of iustice is vngraciously wounded with vnthankefulnesse: nothing vanisheth sooner then the remembrance of benefites receiued; for if you multiply them, they shall be retributed and retribled to you with infinite malefices, considering that he which neither hath heart nor facultie to requite commonly forgetteth or vndervalueth your mutifidence; disdayning in himselfe the very remembrancie of that necessitie, which being either with your mercie mitigated or delayed in case of iustice, or by your charitiie supplied in compassion of his pouerty, should haue enioyned him to thankefull requitall for such a benefit, which people commonly so

*Fr. Guk. Italia.  
in vita Alex. 6.  
ponit.*

**C** soone forget as taste. This haue I found by good experiance both in particular, and by some priuate respects of my selfe and others most neere vnto me; not doubting but that it is a vulgar prooife, wherein this worlds aged malignitie through diuelish continuance hath increased it from a wily serpent to a subtle, malicious, and murthering old dragon; like that which is spoken of, in the Reuelation of the blessed Euangelist *John*, being now set free from fetters towards the last times; and amongst wise men so detestable and odious, that by their often repetition it became a prouerbe generally deliuered, *if you call me unthankfull, call me what you will*: for nothing can be more disgracefull or infamous. And as it is vsed to men of that vnthankfull nature, an vnthankfull

**D** dogge: for as it is odious in a dogge, a snake, or any wild beast, which is cherisched or fedde at your table, to bite or maligne their fosterers, which is a thing very rarely to be feene: howmuch more lothesome and contemptible is it in a man to whom God hath giuen heart and reason of gratification.

Mercie confounded is with hardnesse of heart, vncharitableness, vncionscionable actions, strangenesse amongst brethren and societies, being both pernicious to the soule of people, and contagious to the peace and vniions of all ciuill states and policies.

Liberality perisheth in these extreamities, in auarice which cannot endure the thought of giuing, and in prodigalitie dishabbling the power thereof. These

**E** are guarded with infinite vices, of which two mischieves, prodigalitie more helpeth in repaying many, whereas couetousnesse will not relieue any.

Vaine ostentation being vndecently flubbered vp, and neighbouring auarice, is opposite to magnificence: there is likewise a proud immoderate and vna-  
reasonable kinde of riotous magnificence accompanied with excesse: the  
dangers

daungers, of both are much like to the perils issuing from the extremes of F liberalitie: but of auarice, ostentation & prodigalitie, I haue more at large spoken in the morals of my first booke of offices.

Friendship being the nauell or vp-shot of all iustice, *Etiam & habitus veri & perfecte diligendi alterum propter similitudinem morum*: Which is a habite of perfect and true loue betwixt men, resembling one another in conditions and manners by naturall sympathie, shall take place in the botome, base and groundworke of the rest, and it is thwarted with enmity which worketh in mens hearts crueltie with hatred, whereupon patricides and homicides ingender. It is a common saying, that such a man hath betrayed or deceiued G his friend; because the practise and example seemeth very frequent amongst vs in this age, according to that saying of *Salust, Per maximum amicitiam maxima est fallendi copia*; that where greatest friendship harboreth, there hath deceit most power and force to practise; but I am not of that opinion how true friendship (if it be mutuall and reciprocall) hath any port which can open vnto the heart that could entertaine falsehood against friends: considering that true friendship is naked, pure and immaculate according to the definition before expressed. Howbeit there is a similitude of wicked natures, which combineth men in a kinde of fraternitie which me seemeth may not be called so properly friendship, being brethren in euill sacramentally tyed, and periuriously vntyed at pleasure, to succour, loue, deceiue and betray one another. This in like opposition with the former is the very seede of all disunion and in-justice. From hence distractions, seditions, factions, oppressions, and diuers sutes arise which never haue end nor will, but by conspiracies; vpon which the prince is many times forced to staine his hands with blood, or to loose his soueraignetie. Many men neglect this, not looking into the danger which dayly stealeth out of it: and yet it is easily found, if they consider *how the seed-time of each yeere presents occasion in the next yeeres harvest*; ministring store of matter to gorge vp the couetous bags of some ambitious Lawmen, Aduocats H and Attorneys. Now somewhat concerning that abilitie which strengtheth judges and iuridicall magistrates in th'administration of publike affaires. I

To the perfection of knowledge herein it is right behouefull that they which iudge, be soundly read and practised in all the lawes Ciuell, Cannon, and prouinciall consenting with the lawes of those nations where men liue, and also the lawes of all neighbouring Commonweales politickely gouerned, whether they be Christian or pagane, conferring them with the ground of all good lawes deliuered first by God to the sacred prince *Moyses* his seruant in the decalogue: as also that he studiously peruse all the bookees of *Moyses*, wherein the politicke statutes and ordinances deriuied from the fountaine of his vnferchable wisedome are touched; as in the bookees of *Exodus, Deuironomie, Numbers*: likewise in the *Judges*, and *Kings*. Nay let him peruse the whole volumes of the new Testament; wherein he shall find the true formes and treasure of all good lawes and iudgements. Likewise let him conuerse with the lawes of the ancient Egyptians which (as *Diodorus* recordeth them) are like in nature to these our Brittaine lawes; from whence together with the secret misteries

**A** steries of their gods, those ordinances were by *Orpheus* translated into Grecce: also the Troiane and Grecce laws, from whence our Nation (as I before declared) did receiue their first orders of government: the lawes of Saxons and Danes when they did inhabite vs; conserning them feuerally together, & pondering which neerest cohere in precepts & vuniformtie with the sacred Decalogue.

It is also most commendable, and would adde infinite riches to his iudgement, if he can by diligent reading attaine the Lawes of all principall States and Kingdomes in this age established as in Spaine, France, Portugall, the free States of Italie, the Empire of Germany, the Cantons of Swizzer-land, the

**B** Kingdomes of Poleland, Hungaria, Prussia, Moscouia, with such like: most of which although they be gouerned by the lawes imperiall, haue not withstanding Edicts, & custoinarie prescriptions retaining legall force, which are most fit and worthy to be knowne. Also the Lawes of the Turkes, of the Persians, and of any strange heathens in the world, which are partakers and be gouerned by rule of reason.

This Science with the riches of that knowledge, which may be gotten by the same together with the iudicious conference of one with another, I cannot sufficiently declare nor commend: neither, if it were possible for a man, all other means being wanting therunto to liue vntill he had visitid those

**C** nations, and had soiouredn in each particular countrey, till he were acquainted with their seuerall Lawes and orders, could his paines answere the least part of benefit which that knowledge will dispense.

In publicke iudgements (which according to th'imperiall Institutions are so called, because the execution of them is referred to any of the people) it much importeth him to be very skilfull, conserning them to the benefit of his private iudgement with the publicke iudgements, as in cases criminall of his owne nation. Of these some being capitall and the rest not capitall: those which are, doe puniish with death or perpetuall exile; as it was called by the Romans, *interdiction from fire and water*, by which was intended an exclusi-

**D** on from all other benefit, or comfort of his native Countrey. Such were those *Anteas eti nixus* as *Freigius* defineth, being persons cast out, or banished *Quæst. politie.* from all ciuill societie: and they were called *deportati* or *relegati*, by the Romans, to whom was this *interdiction of fire and water*, or the prescription and abdication of people. Other iudgements vpon defamacion proceed with pecuniary mulct, which are also publicke and not capitall.

Howbeit publicke iudgements principally proceed in matters of maiestie, touching traytors against the King or Common-wealth, punished with loss of life, and extirpation of their remembrance after their death in at-

stantander of blood, and destruction of their houses which should be demoli-

**E** shed.

-All criminall causes according to the forme of our Lawes, are either treasons or felonies; and those courts in *England* which are ordained for tryall of them that stand appalled for such crimes, are the *Kings bench*, or *Gaole deliueryes*. Which iudgements are through all Counties of this Realme, once each

yeere at the least (and in some ofterne) according to the greynesse of the thire, and of that necessitie which may happen vpon the manifold offences, tryable where the factes were committed, if it bee not otherwise determined by the Kings priuie Counsell.

Treasons according to the lawes of our Nation are crymes of such heinous nature, as either concerne the Prince in his life or State. As when a man compassest or imagineth the Kings, the Queenes, or their eldest son his death; the violation or constupration of the Queene, or of the kings eldest daughter vnmarrid, or of the Prince his wife: the levying of war against the King, in his Realme, or abroad; the counterfeiting of his great or priuy Seal, or of his mo- G neys; th'importation of false money counterfeit to the stampe of his Realmes, and knowing it to be false: to kill the Chancellor, Treasurer, or Judges of the Kings bench, or of the common plees, or the Iustices in Eire, the Iustices of assise, or any Iustices of Oyer, & derminer, doing their offices: there is another petit treason when a scruant slayeth his Master, and a wife her husband; a man secular or religious, any Prelate to whom he oweth faith and obedience. Moreouer if any thing should happen vnnamed, respite must bee graunted till by Parliament it be adiudged and ordayneid treason or felonie.

*Edw. 3. An. 25.  
cap. 2.*

Paricides, such as kill their parents openly or closely, and such as are either accessaries or abettours, punished with extreame torture of death, H according to th'imperiall Lawes. Howbeit, such as kill their kinsfolke or allies, vndergoe the law prouided against murtherers.

*Ad leg. Iul. de  
de Sycarijs.*

*Ad leg. Iul. de  
V. priuatis.*

*Ad leg. Cornel.  
defalsis.*

*Ad leg. Iul.  
peculatus.*

*Ad leg. Iul.  
Annona, amb.  
vernum replet.*

Felonies are of diuers natures, including any capitall iniustice, as in life, or liuing towards diuers persons: of which, some be murtherers; others in theft and robberies; and some in deceit appendant to that nature; but in a more venemous degree. Murtherers therefore, which with artificiall instruments, poisons, or sorceries take away the liues of people, according to th'imperiall lawes are punished with death. Theeues secretly stealing and purloyning publicke treasure, or sacrilegious persons: yea, Judges themselues if hauing charge of any common treasure they should imbezill the same; with all assistants, receptors, and abettors are condemnable to death. Other thefts not of such heinous condition are satisfied with exile. The rapes of widowes, wiues, or virgines are comprehended herein by the same punishment.

Falsifying or counterfeiting of written Chartiers, Evidences, Records, Leases, or counterfeiting of scales, with such like of the same nature punished with death.

Publicke violence which is done with weapon, or artificiall instrument; finable to the the third part of his goods which offendeth.

Pettie thefts sometimes with losse of life, and in certaine cases with lighter punishment, at the Judges discretion.

The lawes of ambition, of requiring a restitution of goods taken away, with those that concerne virtuallis, &c. are all handled in the publike iudgements, expreised in th'imperiall Institutions. For as much as concerneth the studies and readie knowledge of our owne Lawes, I haue sufficiently spoken before.

In

**A** In iudgements criminall, generally requiring the deepest and soundest discretion of Judges, there is one question which I haue heasd controwerited: Whether in them it be better and more expedient to shew mercie then rigor: but it is by the stronger part of opinions confirmed, that in the gouernment of a multitude (where the crimes are treasonable or infectious) seuere punishment much more availeth then lenitie. Which *Tacitus* no lesse sagely (though liuing in a tyrannous Empire) doth confirme. Yet forsomuch as it is no part of my profession (but in somewhat impertinent) to declare the substance of all these causes criminall according to their natures, I will pretermit and handle only such things, as are required of a Judge in his general decision, or execution of them.

**B** Punishments therefore are either frequent, or rare: mitigate punishments of multitudes together with frequent practize of them. And he which hastily proceedeth to sentence of condemnation, will be generally said and condemned to haue done it willingly. If occasion so require, that for a generall good and quiet, a multitude must vndergoe punishment; make specious demonstration, that it is onely done to preuent further offence, and not in regard of the fault: shew neither wrath nor gladnesse in punishing; inflict not any strange or extreame punishments: for they be dangerous, & the Judges which punish after new fashions are vndoubtedly cruell. Be not partiall in punishing, as in dealing more seuerely with some, then with others whose

**C** faults are of equall qualitie. Neither be present spectators at the execution of malefactors: which violent & irous appearance, hath drowned many princes in the blood of their Tyrannie. And whereas it doth happen frequently, that many persons and some of the best estate and qualitie, cannot be punished with death, but with the great danger and hatred of the Judge, which he should wholy neglect, honourably respecting the person of veritie, represented in himselfe; it is required, that in heinous causes all the heads be cut off together, and that not leasurely one by one: For often reiteration of blood giueth suspition of merciless truculencie, stirring malice in many men and pleasing few: onely the due respect of securitie bent against them (whose

**D** pardons are full of perill) presently washing out the note or malice of that securitie, with remission and indulgence of other offendours, whose crimes being of a more humble nature, include not much danger in them. Hauing and retaining alwayes a precise respect of the natures and qualities of the persons offending, and of their offences: according with that rule in *Salust*, *Vos sceleratis simis hominibus qui acines sunt ignorare aquo animo passeri in misere.* Bell. Iugurthi

**E** recordia in pernicie casura eſſer: I could be contented that great offendours shold be pardoned, were it not that such mercie would turne to mischiefe. Onely this should be regarded, that amongst many persons combined in offence a few of the principals be cut off. *Nec enim paucoruſ aut unius hominis calamitati publica maiores nostri ſemper anteponendam eſſe preauerunt:* Our fathers alwayes thought it expedient to preferre the death of ſome few persons, or of one man; rather then to permit a generall calamitie by the effusion of much blood. It hath been anciently customed (but I will not prescribe ſuch dangerous

rous phisicke) to walsh away the enuie of blood-shed, with shedding the blood of certaine vile persons, as sacrifices piacular against publike hatred (as I noted in my first booke) by the example of *Sir Richard Emson*, and *Master Dudley*, in the second yeere of King *Henry* the eight. To great offences therefore either presumptuously, or bloodily committed by great persons of note, apply notable and exemplary punishments; that meaner folke in beholding their executions, may be discouraged from the like attempts. Which rule hath beene narrowly kept by that right noble, reuerende and politicke Judge, *Sir John Popham*, by whose justice and seuere integritie (thunder-blasting desperate offences) many grieuous and contagious malefactors haue been often-times repressed. If therefore a mans life infist vpon it, let him not feare to giue sentence according to conscientable euidence and equitie: whereas he shall finde it evident and fit, that by so iudging, iustice is not scandalized.

Moreover, it must not appeare to be done either in priuate, as by corrupt bribes, violently to diuert the current of iustice out of his true channel, or any malice or enuie to parties, which is a kinde of disease of the minde, which greuously repineth at the good successe or qualities of others. And many men wil sooner pardon the slaughter of their parents, then the losse of their liuings vniustly. Seueritie therefore in necessarie punishments, addeth a maiestie to the magistrate: for otherwise it happeneth oftentimes, that the Prince may rebuke his foolish lentitude, in such termes as were obiected by *Quintus Fab. Maximus* in the Romane Senate against *Scipio*, whose souldiors through his exceeding licence and lenitie revolted from him; that he should haue corrupted the state of ciuil government, as *Scipio* did the Romane militarie discipline: vpon which reprehension, *Scipio* reformed himselfe with great reputation; whereas in regard of his former mildnesse, the first examples of his seueritie were not imputed to his owne nature. It is not meant here by the example of *Draco*, who did write all his lawes in blood for the *Aschenians*, to punish every small offence with death: but such as are either traitorous and sedicious paricides, homicides, or others of like condition according to the qualities of their offences. There is a kinde of grace and mercie declared in executing or interpreting the very Letter of the Law precisely: which I referre in the religion thereof vnto the Judges conscience, as by a common and familiar example.

*Zaluchus* (hauing made a Law to the *Locrensiens*, that any persons of that common-wealth, if they were taken in adulterie, should loose both their eyes) was forced to giue sentence against his owne sonne, which stood in that case appealed before him: & notwithstanding that earnest intercession made by the people for his pardon, yet in satisfaction of the Law, he caused one of his owne and another of his sonnes eyes to be done out. In what ought a Judge to declare more constant veritie, then in iuridicall sentences? in what more zeale then in execution of the Lawes? in what place more maiestie then on the venerable throne of iustice?

I will confirme this with a familiar example of common record in our English Chronicles. *Henrie of Monmouth* sonne to king *Henrie* the fourth (who did

A did afterwards succeede his father ) rushed vnto the Kings Behch (the Lord chiefe Iustice of England sitting in iudgement vpon life and death of one of that princes seruants, then in case of felonie brought vnto the bar before him) and with his sword drawen made offer to rescue the prisoner without further triall : the people astonisched at such vnuisuall behauour, were afraid. The iudge himselfe, or rather Gods spirit directing, wisely weighing his owne condicione, and looking into trueth and authoritie, banishest all suddaine feare, and stoutly with a reuerend maiestie rebuketh the prince in this sort. Come hether furious yongman, wound this old carcase with thy sword wherewith thou menacest me ; strike, strike I say, rather will I die then endure such example. This place which thou doest violate is thy fathers tribunall, the iudge whō thou threatnest representeth thy father, the law which thou contemnest, adiudgeth thee guiltie for it ; and without any respect that thou art sonne to the king, on behalfe of thy father, and being assisted and supported with the Commonweales authoritie, I doe commit thee to prison. At which reuerend and constant iudgement of the magistrate, the prince abashed presently let fall his sword, and willingly submitted himselfe to prison. The king vpon this tragæcomedie reported, burst with teares into theſe speeches: happie am I in ſo iuft & ſincere a iudge, & in ſo good and obedient a ſonne. Which gallant prince ſucceeding his father in the gouerneinent ſo much eſteemed of that iudge, as (when he departed England with his forces towards France for that conquest which he there purchased) he committed the tuition and gouerne-ment of his whole realme, during that his absence to him : the historie is true though common, and yet not ſo vulgar as notable.

B Sedition and malice being two pestilent and contagious diseases in a Commonwealth ſhould be ſeuereſly puniſhed in the beginnings without remiſſion, yet with ſuch diſcretione handled, as it might ſeeme rather to proceede from a mind very loath, and grieuing to puniſh, but that conſtant and the common cauſe enforceth it. Howbeit, ſomewhat muſt alwayes be done for ex-amples ſake conſidering the ſentencē, *Panarum fructus omnium maximus pertinet ad exemplum. The moſt fruit and profit which iſheweth from punishments grow-eth upon example.*

C There is great daunger in miniftring a more vchement medecine, then ei-ther the nature or ſtrength of the diſeale or diſeased doth require. Appling not any corroſives but vpon extremities and cauſes otherwise remedileſſe. He which hathēth vengeance in his heart, may not puniſh hauſtely but expect a fit occaſion for his owne ſatisfaction, which will vndoubtedly fall without any combustion, note, or imputation of reuenge. Those iudges therefore I deeme wel worthie commendation, which ſeldome uſing ſeueritie can attaine

D and keepe the name of terrible magiſtrates : for by much exerciſe of bloodie iuſtice as I ſaid before, more harme then good enſueth to the prince; for not onely the perſons fauourers of the parties puniſhed, but the peoples hearts in generall will ſtorme at it : and admit you can remoue ſome of the firſt which ſtirre in it; yet in a caſe of crueltie the peoples indignation may fitly be com-pared to wild-fire, which being once kindled will encreaſe and burne more

of. 3.

vehemently. If therefore a Judge extend feueritie, let it be manifested especially, when matters of blood and violation of humane charitie requireth it: when violence vpon impious passion or perturbation of the minde, to satisfie private malice is exercized vpon persons; which no man being moderated by the Law of nature will commit: as *Cicero* writeth; *hominem natura obedientem homini nocere non posse*: That not any man which is obedient to nature will hurt another man. Neither can any thing expresse the prudence of a magistrate more to life, then the iust conseruation and maintenance of a mans life; nothing decipher his crueltie more, then slaughter and effusion of blood. How odious is the very name of homicide, by whose violence man which is the goodliest artifice of nature is dissolued? Nothing therefore should in a ciuill societie be more feuerely sifted, nothing feele more extreame punishment then murtherers. A iust Judge therefore sitting in iudgement vpon homicides, should in his right hand hold a Iasper stone, to stanch the blood of innocents; & in the left a sword to strike bloody murtherers and slaughterers: so that the sword be not more forcible then the stone, least his wrath conquer clemencie when he reuengeth blood.

Next vnto murther is that vlcerous and vnsatiable wolfe vsurie, which like a cancor consumeth the flesh and bones of Prince and people. It is the extreameſt ſtincking plague of any common-wealtheſt. And hence was it, that *Marcus Cato* ſaid, *How murther and usurrie were correſatiue*. Which leproſus botch (for I cannot giue it a terme bad enough) the Romans puniſhed more feuerely then felonie. And *Saluſt* likewiſe aduiſing *Ceſar* in one of his Ora- tions ſaith; *Tollendus faenerator ut ſuas quisque res curemus*: Uſurers muſt be baniſhed, that every man may the better follow his priuate buſineſſe. Intimating thoſe leſs and obſtaclcs which happen to the common-wealtheſt; where diuers principall perſons are conſumcd and eaten vp with uſurie. Saying morocouer, that all things would haue good ſucceſſe in the common-wealtheſt, *Si pecunia (qua maxima omnium pernicioſe eſt) uſum atque dedecus demperit*: If he would ſo praetiſe, that the vſe and diſgrace of ſelling and lending of mo- ney (which he termeth the greateſt of all harmes) may be taken away.

*Ad. Ceſ. de rep. ordinanda.*

Lib. I. tit. 8.

There yet remaineth one principall respect and conſideration for Magi- ſtrates and Judges, which ſpecially concermeth the common-wealtheſt: to take ſuch carefull heed and circumſpection as may be, that all men and perſons, yong and old, of all trades and profeſſions in all townes and cities, doe follow with diligēce and commendable induſtrie their ſeuerall fuſtions and vo- cations, which is the readieſt meane both to magnifie and amplifie the com- mon-wealtheſt. And therefore *Francis Paſſicuſ*, in his booke *De iuſtituione reipub.* writeth that they ſhould *Oris magis quam negotij rationem exigere*: To take more precise account of idle fellowes then of labourers: which thoſe na- ked *Gymnoſophiſts* that liued in *India*, did with all induſtrie; for they were of op- pion that nothing could be more odious in any ſocietieſt, ſtates, or Cities, then ſloath and idlenesse. For the *Gymnoſophiſts* did alwayes before meat exa- mine their youth, how they had imploied that part of the day, and onely permiſſed ſuch to receiue meate whose exerciſes they did approue, thrusting ſuch

vſe and diſgrace.

F

G

H

I

K

A such out of doores as had been founde idle or loyterers, that they might seeke their food by labour, where they could gaine it.

Hence was that law amonst the Egyptians which *Diodorus* mentioneth Lib. 1. bbb. 18. that all the people were enioyned to make stricte accompt vnto the presedents of euery prouincce, how they bestowed their times, & what arts they did profess; each mans particular name and profession being entred into a booke: so that if any was found to giue vp a false accompt of his labours, or was knownen to haue loytered out his time, he receiued punishment of death; and this was one of *Dracoes* bloodie lawes: for honeste exercise and studies are a meane to reduce, exorbitate, & prodigall affections to frugalitie: for sloathfull

B and idle persons as *Valerius* writeth, *Magis oneri quam honoris sunt res pub: Impose* Lib. de res. cap. 2. more burthen then afford ornament to the Commonwealth. And therefore idle fellowes anciently amonst the *Athenians* were violently trayled into the market place to receiue punishment as grieuous offenders. The like inquisition was amonst the sage iuridicall *Areopagites*, which is in effect exprefed by *Valerius lib. 2. in de inq. antiq.* blessed *Paul* in one of his Epistles, *shas he which will not worke, shall not easse.* These *Areopagites* whose offices were not vnlke to the Romane Censoirs tooke such care, that idle fellowes should giue stricte accompt of their time and profession employed and exercised. And this accompt of idlenesse was so *Valerius lib. 16.* great amongst our forefathers of former ages past, that they did not esteeme

C of any thing more shamefull then idlenesse. For this cause therefore the Philosopher *Cleanses* caried water to get him bread: and this was it which made *Plautus* that noble Comedian to bake bread. Furthermore *Solon* enacted it that the sonne was exempted from duetie towards his father, if he by the fathers meanes had not attained instruction in some science. The fruits or tokens rather of this idle leprosie which drowneth, or rather as it were insenfatheth the members of any Commonwealth, are luculently described by *Salust* in these wordes: *Dormire prius quam somni capido est, non famem, non sisim, neqz frigus apperiri, sed ea omnia laxu anticipare: hac inuenientem* Conjur. Caud. (*ubi familiares opes deficerant*) *ad facinora incendebant:* To sleepe before a mans eyes were heauy: D not to tarry till he were hungry, thirstie, or cold, but to preuent all luxuriously: These disordered fashions when their owne priuate wealth was wasted, incensed, and prouoked youngmen to take in hand wicked courses. If this be not too common a vice in our Commonwealth then were we most fortunate.

And hence it is that in detestation thereof, *Salust* in one other place saith, *Vbi secordie te ignaviaeque tradideris nequit dignam deos implores, irati infestique sunt:* It is in vain that sloathfull and idle persons invoke the gods, for they will bee wrathfull and punish them. Wherefore all such vagrant and idle persons, as our statutes haue most prudently pointed out, are fittest for the gallies or banishment. *Nulla namque re alia improbi ab iniuriosis facinorosique vita magis proibentur quam prescriptiori menu: quilibet ad egestatem perducas: nam malemeritus publico exemplo ad terrorum malefactorum paupertate laborare cogitur:*

E Pot wicked persons are not by any meanes so soone restrained from iniurious and sinfull courses, as by the terror of banishment, which bringeth their chil- dren to beggerie: for by publike example all shew as deserue evill *(to terrifie male-*

In Her. ser.

malefactors) are driven through extreame pouertie to labour. Hence was it that the noble *Tragadian* writ, *venit ad pigros cana senectus*. Neither is it fit that any idle fellowes should liue vpon the common-wealths labours, vnlesse their labors be imployed for the commonwealth; which euen the course of nature in little Bees teacheth vs, which will not suffer any Drone, or idle Bee that bringeth in no honie, either to eat out of their labours, or to liue within their wax.

I will not infist vpon more obseruations, concerning the knowledge and practise of Judges: desiring them that read this, not to impute my paines to arrogancie in dealing with studies beyond my weake element, neither to any other wants (which are manifold in it) considering that I haue with cheerfulness done my best for the yong Readers benefit.

The noble Judges and Lawyers which haue left vnto vs the knowledge of our Common-lawes, hauing taken great paines for the comfort and benefit of this Common-wealth, as is manifest by their written Bookes, and reports of the Law, be Master *Glanvile*, *Littleton*, *Fitzherbers*, *Brooke*, *Dyer*, *Plowdon*, and that right worthy Lawyer of our time, Sir *Edm. Cooke*, the Kings Attorney generall.

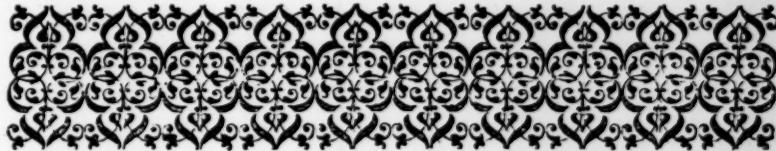
The reuerend Fathers and Judges in the Lawes of our time, were *Wray*, *Bacon*, *Harper*, *Bromley*, *Manwood*, *Anderson*, *Egerton*, and *Popham*: whose excellent gifts of knowledge and wisedome, haue bene plentifully powred out, to the generall benefit of this Nation.

Diuers excellent men of great prudence, learning & hope for our own laws, residing and studious in our houses of court, and otherwise dispersed through his Maiesties dominions, adorne and beautifie this Realme; whose names fit me not here to insinuate. So that this Nation vnder Gods gouernment, during good Queene *Elizabeth* her raigne, was inriched and roabed with the gold and purpure of fortune and wisedome auspiciously combined together. And since her time with his Maiesties high prudence, alwayes studying and inclyning to the peace and happinesse of his people, graciously begun, and very like blessedly to continue to his Highnesse high comfort, so long as it shall stand with Gods high pleasure, his Maiesties honour, and with the speciaall weale of his Kingdomes.

The Lawes before King *Edward* the third his raigne (as *Glanvile* and *Bracton* record) and some which were established in the dayes of his father *Edward of Carnarvan*, and of King *Richard* the second were written in Latyn: but in the first of King *Edward* the third his raigne, who had, as it is knowne generally, good and lawfull right to the crowne of *France*, and did retaine diuers of those Prouinces in possession, were all of them written in French. Howbeit soone after, to the end that the people might the better vnderstand what was spoken for & against them, the Lawyers which before lately pleaded in French, vpon such inconuenience found, were enioyned by one act of Parliament, that all their pleadings in all courts & place within the realme should be made in English, but entred and enrolled in Latine. And so much in briefe concerning the Legall counsell or court of Judges.

*Finis libri tertij.*

A



## The fourth Booke of Offices.

B

**I**T is commonly scene in the depraued condition of humane nature, that diuers persons doe vehemently desire to be reputed skilfull, and excellently learned in some commendable arts which they neuer attained. A vicious bindnesse proceeding (as I deeme) from pride innated, and from a certaine dishonest kinde of sluggishnesse;

**C** when any man shall thinke, that he can buy the credit and falded opinion of diuine treasures, with meere idlenesse, in whose loathsome and vnsauory kennell, the ragged, blind, barbarous, and misbelieuing idoll ignorance, filthily wallowing holdeth a perpetuall flouens right, and doth in very foolish arrogancy vpon meere earthly presumption, euerlastingly blemish all other laudable perfections, which can be quoated in the faire and true carde of mans diuine nature and industrie. The scandall of which dishonest imputation, that I might crush to death in the head, me seemeth it in conscience expedient, and a chiefe branch of my duetie to confess a trueth: how much it exceedeth the weake bounders of my naked iudgement, to furnish

**D** fit in compleat armes of proofe, with all suitable habiliments of honour this right noble counsell of warre; which though it be last in place, yet is it first in proceßion, and not lowest in profession, considering that it putteth the titles of all right, and iust honour in execution. It is the noble corrector of all prodigall states, a skilfull bloodletter against all dangerous obstructions and pluradies of peace, the most soueraigne purgation of all superfluous and spreading humours or leprosies, which can breed in any generall politicke body. Necessity which importuneth a fourth place in my booke doth vrge me to that which my dishabilitie towards the seruice of so serious a subiect shuld otherwise inhibit: my practise in warres hath bene very little, my knowledge in

**E** booke and histories, slender in such respects: and (as it is the generall fault of youthfull temeritie) when I first entred the martiall lists, negligently did I restraine my selfe from those needfull obseruations, which should haue beene the very scope proposed to my whole time of seruice in armes, through the vaine weakenesse of my greene and vnstayed head: therefore I most humbly

Y

craue

crave pardon for such omissions as will be found in this treatise frequently; F recommending it vnto the best and honorable iudgements which cannot calumniate; with a generall exception and protestation against the vulgar in their bitternesse without discretion, from which kinde of spirits I desire earnestly that my trauels may be concealed. The matter is of it selfe most ample; and many things may be required, which I know cannot be (without some irkesomenesse to the reader) inserted: points of more moment ouershooting the scope of my knowledge I referre to my masters in armes, that haue by much valour and long experience attained the martiell girland of iust honour, and can famously from the golden trumpet of farre sounding victorie clang G out aloud with heroicall cheere and alacritie, the true flourish and cuerliuing bruit of bloodie sweats and battailes.

Office of military  
Governours.

Caleogninus de  
rebus Argentia-  
cis

Lib. I. In princ.  
cod. Iustiniani  
& in proam.  
instit.

Lib. I. Com.  
Cerim.

Bell. Iugurth.

Warre being vpon honorable grounds and with due deliberation undertaken, is the constant and inestimable base of a blessed peace, rectifying, composing and perfecting all iniuries, disorders, and imperfections in euery state; hence was it that sage *Heraclitus* did call warre the father, king, and soueraigne of all creatures, reproving *Homer* for his ignorance, because he prayed against variance, and debate amongst gods, and men; holding opinion that the blind Poet did (by so praying) curse the generation of all creatures, which according to the grounds of our Philosophicall reason doth subsist of fighting and H antipathie. It is vulgar how the foundations of all Empires are framed out of good lawes and good armes: But good lawes are of finall force, vntesse they be maintained by needfull skill and practise of weapons. Howbeit in all places of the ciuill and imperiall lawes where there is any mention made of wars and lawes together, armes haue the first place.

Moreover, note it positiuely, that where militarie science and exercise is frequent, there good lawes are in most force and honour: for it maintaineth and magnifieth euery Commonwealth and state; without it, none haue long flourished or continued: and according to *Thucydides*, he that will not in tranquilitie leuie necessarie warre standeth in the very doore of daunger: and this of *Tacitus*. *Sapientes pacis causa bellum gerant; laborem spe orij sustentans: nisi sil- lam firmam effici, vinci, an vici? quid retulit* &c. Wise men to purchase peace leuie warre; they labour in hope of future ease: vntesse your peace be firme, what auaileth it you to conquer or to be conquered. Warre is therefore a multitude combined and assembled together in armes in one cause vnted with a noble and needfull resolution to resist and defeate all violence which is opposed or vrged against any king, kingdome, or their confederates. Wherein first must be considered generally that which *Salust* writeth. *Omne bellum facile sumi, ceterum agerrime definere; non in eiusdem potestate initium eius & finem esse: incipere cuius etiam ignauo licet; deponere vero cum victores velint.* K All warres are easily begun, but with great difficultie finished, it is not in one mans power, both to beginne and end the warre: euery dastardly coward may begin; but it resteth in the pleasure of him that vanquisheth to make an end thereof.

The foote or end of warre therefore must be precisely looked vpon, with the

**A** the toppe and occasion. For example, when it is soundly warranted by the Lawes of nations; as in lawfull levying of armes either in the cause of God which is principal being moued & assisted by diuine spirit, against his enemies: such as you shal finde in ages not long past, which by the Emperor (being confederated and vnted in force with the princes of Christendome) were auspiciously stirred vp in generall against the Turke, and against other blasphemous opposites of Christ, and of his people: or in defence of the Common-  
*Necessarie wars.*  
wealth, against all forraigne invasions or impeachments of their naturall liberties. As it was in my remembrance prouided by the dearly remembred nurrice of this Nation, Queene Elizabeth. *Pro aris & focis*, against the puissant Armado of Spaine; which purposed a conquest of this Nation, and was confounded by the spirit of God, moving in the windes and waters, against those forraigne shippes vnder the propitious and ever-admired valor of Gods hand-maiden; whose apport & carriage in those difficulties are worthy to be recorded, with a pen of finest gold in hardest marble, or in that (if any thing be more durable) which is most permanent and diuine vpon earth. For being then amongst her souldiors heroically mounted, she promised with many comfortable words of encouragement, to share with them in fortunes, if the Spaniard durst shew his face aland. Such and so marueilous was her natvie fortitude and true pietie, published in her Campe at Tilburie, vpon the zeale and inotherly loue of Gods cause, and of the safegard of his chosen people  
**C** vnder her scepter, as is euerlastingly registered already with her soule aboue the starres.

Out of this brancheth a lawfull kinde of inuasion vpon forraigne states, in case of some honor or right which is vniustly detained by violent hand, after *Lawfull wars.* that restitution hath beene peaceably demanded. As that which the right wise and most renowned Prince, the beautifull president of peace, and the deuouring thunder-bolt of warre, King Edward the third (your Maiesties most worthy Progenitor) breathed out against France: which martiall lightening was so terrible that it deuoured the disobedience of that people, and established him in his right: which first was wonne with the weight of most honourable battell. And those warres which the valorous French King maintained, a long time after the venemous murther of his p: edecessor, & brother in Law, King Henry the third of France and Poleland, against the Duke *Du Mayne*, great Chamberlaine of France, with the Duke of *Parma* and others; that resisted him in his hereditarie dominions, vntill the Pope had restored him to the crowne.

There is likewise a iust warre grounded vpon charitie, which vndertaketh the protection of our friends or confederates. Such were they, which our prementioned soueraigne Lady lately levyed to succor the Free-*states* of base Germanie, thereby to protec~~t~~ them from the rigorous and vnspeakable seruite of Spaine and Castille: whose approoued faithfulness of old to this Realme, is many times noted in our Chronicles. Onely such warre as is vndertaken for amplification of dominion and Empire, and that which ambition marshalleth, with such iniurious quarrels as are scandalously picked out of  
*lawfull wars.*

counterfeir grounds, and heads more fit for Turkes, Infidels, or traytors, then F  
for sacred and royll minded princes, may not bee summoned to this thronē  
of heroicall iustice, but vrespected or reiected vterly. Vnto the performance  
of these warres thus iustly to be commenced and raised the choise of sol-  
diers is first required, as well Captaines as ordinarie seruitors, including sol-  
diers for fight, and labourers for worke. Of these in their particular offices  
and degrees successiuely.

The first and highest place of power and reputation in the field, the  
Prince himselfe vpon some principall causes in his owne person houldeth;  
vnder whom all other Generals and Captaines are waged, and beare office. G  
But for somuch as at this day few princes are seene militant in forraigne coun-  
tries, vnesse they stand appealed to such battels forcibly; through some forci-  
ble iniustice of others, either vpon detinew of due tributes or territories (the  
custome and possession whereof hath beene of most ancient memorie con-  
tinued in his antecessors by discreter succession, to the very point of his own  
raigne) and also because fewe Princes are personally seene in battels of our  
dayes vpon their owne soyle, vnesse against assailants or tirannous vsurpers;  
such as were expected (of which I spake before) by our soueraigne *Elizabeth*,  
and prouided against the inuasion of King *Philip Anno 1588.* and for some  
other particular reasons, I will passe ouer the particulars of his highest place in  
martiall Campe, referringe my selfe to his commission; by vertue whereof,  
vpon ordinary tearmes of warre, the Prince or Emperor deputeth his Lieute- H  
nant generall to supply the place and office of maiestie; hauing sometimes  
certaine priuate and princely directions not expressed, by which in dearest  
trust to him by his soueraigne committed he must shape his course. In all out-  
ward appearance, he must cape according to the strict tenor of his instruc-  
tions, in commission vnder the Prince his great seale deliuered. The least fillable  
in fence being expressed therein, he may not without high danger to him-  
selfe transgresse; vnesse the soueraignes aduice and opinion be first had and  
knowne, or after vpon more firme reconsideration deliuered.

The princes deepe Iudgement and discretion in electing of his Leuite-  
nant generall, ought to be principally grounded vpon good aduice, and sure  
notice taken of his sufficiencie for such a place. First he should be a man of  
able, strong, and active bodie, well knit, of a durable complexion, neither too  
much brent, nor drowned (as I sayd in the secret councellor) hard and at defi-  
ance with tendernesse, delighting in paines and practise of Armes: and in  
him fve principall things are required.

The first is fidelitie, rebounding from his dignities and noble education;  
opposite to which standeth infidelitie issuing from auarice and malice: for  
such as are couetous and malicious be faithlesse; and therfore by the lawes  
Cepola in d. vers. imperiall not eligible to the place of Princes or Generals of Armies. Science, pro imp. colum. 6. K  
the second garbe of a noble Commander, conuerteth in the knowledge of  
Topographie both by the Carde and Mappe, as by practise in much trauell.  
By this he discerneth what Marches are competent for the souldiers, answ-  
erable vnto their bodies strength, & vnto the present need which the seruice in  
hand

**A** hand shall impose. By this he disposeth of all aduantages, which the places, times and seasons shall offer; as by the benefit of hills, valleys, lanes, riuers, marshes, woodes with all the sunnes and windes of the compasse: also such obseruations & attributes of that nature, as appertaineth militarie profession. This science is attained by the ingenuous exercise, vigilancy, assiduitie, painfull & frequent trauell in places, by the contemplatiue direction of military books and indefatigable practise with a delight had in war. To discerne whether he which may be thought fit for the office of a Generall be possessed of this science; the Prince therfore (as I said) considereth of his age, of his time employed in seruice, of those wars wherin he did serue, of the masters and commanders vnder whom he was disciplined & exercised, of his nation, his discretion, & of the place where he should serue. Valor, which is the third and principall vertue contained in his heart (whereof I purpose to speake more at large in the Morals of my fourth Booke) standeth in the middest of these five properties: issuing from his sapience in aduise, from his counsell in prouision, from his seruencie in action, from expedition in execution, from his sagacitie with wilienesse in stratagemes, and from his patience in trauell. Out of these qualities the temperature of good health, magnanimitie, fortitude, contempt of p[er]ill, and faithfulness proceed. Adiunct to them according to *Capola*, be modestie, clemencie, courtesie, suauitie, facilitie, temperance in all actions accompanied with trueth, innocencie, iustice, and liberalitie. These honorable qualities amongst all soldiers conciliate vnto the L. generall reputation or authoritie, which is when his behests are with all diligence, willingnesse and expedition executed by the souldiers: but specially these haue most force in military masters, when they be with beautie, power, riches, honour, and nobilitie made absolute. Vpon this dependeth likewise his felicitie which in a souldier is most glorious and should seeme principally to proceed from fortitude: for certaine it is, that he which in fight sheweth courage and excellent alacritie, combined with prudence in all extreamities, doth in fauour of himselfe forcibly moue malicious and raging fortune, being conquered with his fortitude and patience, to take his parts for very shame of her selfe: and hence is it that *Aeneas* ha[lt]eneth his souldiers languishing in their extremities after escape from *Naufrage*.

*Durate & vosmet rebus seruare secundis.*

*Amad. 2.*

Intimating to them, that patience engendreth prosperitie, which (being the companion of counsell and reason, a precious gift of God, & the true cognizance of diuine fauour; and not proceeding in any meane from humane industrie) may well suffragate with other giftes to the election of a Generall.

Besides all these, he must be knowne firme to the Prince and quarrel committed to his decision: likewise he should retaine that vertue in himselfe to giue life and courage to his batells, by the example of *Valerius Corninus*, captaine of the Romane forces, then ready to ioyne in conflict against the *Sam*.

*Y iij.*

*nises:*

aites: who willed them in his oration to repose every man in his owne valor, F  
 and to follow him in feits of armes to the vitemost of their force: or like that  
 heroicall speech which the noble Romane rebell *Cassius* breathed vpon his  
 souldiers and companions (fainting in their former resolutions) thus. None  
 but conquerors will exchange war for peace: it were madnes in you to thinke  
 that you can saue your liues by sheathing those swords which should defend  
 you from the violence of such enemies, as pursue you with slaughter; they  
 which are in most feare stand in deepest daunger: whereas boldnesse is a bra-  
 sen bulwarke. But when I ponder your former actions and resolutions (my  
 beaue souldiers) then doe I make sure accompt of certaine victorie, which is  
 visibly presented to my spirit from your spirits, ages, and honours propria-  
 tory: Adde hereunto that present necessitie which coyneth courage out of  
 cowards. And in another place that which infuseth valour into catiue carca-  
 ses. *Caveat me iniqui animam amissam, ne capi posius fuscis pecora stricdemini;*  
*quam vitrum modo pugnantes, cruentam, atque luctuam vittoriam hostibus re-*  
*linquatis:* Haue a care that you loose not your liues vntreuenged, neither be  
 taken prisoners like beastes destined to the slaughter; but that fighting like va-  
 lourous men you may leaue vnto your enemies such a dolorous and lamentable  
 spoyle and victorie, as may be bought to their cost. Such a kind of adhortati-  
 on, or vehement & impulsive persuasion doth marueilously moue and spurre  
 forward the spirits of forlorne souldiers vpon desperate aduentures: or as that  
 noble saying of *Marius*, animating his fellowes in armes. *Ego mer in agmine,* H  
*in pecto consilior idem, & sociis periculi vobiscum adero; me vosque in omnibus*  
*rebus iuxtageraem.* I my selfe (in the shock, and in the battell) will be readie  
 both to giue you my best directions and aduise, and to partake with you fel-  
 lowlike in all perils, and in all prosperous or defastrious accidents, I will per-  
 sonally share fortunes with you. Moreouer it well fitteth with the grace and  
 good fortune of a Generall (after some good successe, & victories attained by  
 his souldiers which will vndoubtedly giue great hartinesse and hopes to men  
 in armes, although their enemies much exceede them in number) to spurre  
 them forward to noble battaile by good example of that priest, by whose per-  
 suasion the Israelites were set on fire with fortitude; and to banish feare, faint-  
 nesse, and astonishment: *Forasmuch as the Lord wens with them to fight against* I  
*their enemies, and to protect them.* Howbeit the prowesse of a Generall, may not  
 onely consist in gallant adhortation, fierie speeches, verball blowes, and fierce  
 menaces onely, for such take more delight in the plausible volubilitie of their  
 tongues, then in th'immortall valour of their hearts: but his iudgement also  
 must be sound, and ripe, his valour noble, and perfect, his wisedome diuine,  
 and vigilant; his assiduitie skilfull, and profitable; his heart franke and hono-  
 rable, heroically despising earthly riches, as the very corruption of all blessed  
 mindes on earth, and whatsoeuer tasteth of this base and humble putrifaction  
 or mortalitie. For Generals which are blotted with couetousnesse can neuer  
 attaine the true faith and loue of their souldiers; as by manifold example and  
 experience is found: they should therefore consider what the conditions of  
 some speciaill gallant captaines in former ages haue bene in that case; and  
 they

**A** they shall find *Alexander* munificent, *Cesar* magnificent, *Ciru* bountifull; and amongst priuate Generals and Captaines that *Scipio Africanus* was a man that onely protested against the desire of mooney, and treasure, when (after his conquest of all Afrike which he made tributarie to the Romanes) he could not shew any spoiles or booties of that warre vpon his returne, but onely the bare title of *Africanus*, which enlarged and famoused his name. Good generals and captaines therefore should imitate such honour, as those two noble brethren *Publius*, and *Lucius Scipio*, which were called the two thunder-boulets of warre: for they protested that neither the treasures of Carthage nor of all Asia could make them auaricious; but that the riches (of which they

**B** were possessed, and had got from others) did wholie consist vpon emulation, and envy; not vpon money. A worthie precedent amongst many more remaineth liuing in the legend of *Phocion*, that noble generall of Athens furname *Bonns Pauper*, honorably recorded in *Plusarches* histories: whose condition was to contemne riches so farre, that when certaine Embassadours from *Philip* King of Macedonia did present vnto him huge heapes of treasure, and kingly giftes, hee did peremptorily refuse them: the regard of his owne desert, nor the benefit of his children (both which they did acknowledge vnto him) would not enduce *Phocion* to receaue them: but out of his singular magnificence and magnanimitie (dismissing the legates loaden as

**C** the same) answered them on this fashon. If my sonnes follow their fathers example, this little land in my possession (which maintained me in martiall seruice vntill I was promoted to this dignitie) may competently serue them: But if they degenerate, I doe not purpose with my gaines or gettings to main-taine their riot. Many such obseruations remaine to captaines in the memorials of *Cirus*, *Alexander*, & of other princes and commanders. In like sort *Marcus Curius* after his triumphs ouer *Pyrrhus* had presented vnto him (sitting then to the fire) a great masse of gold, sent from the Samnites: but his answere was, *Non aurum habere praelarum est, sed illis (qui aurum possident) imperare.* It is not a glorious thing to be possessed of huge heapes of gold; but it is most excellent to be lord ouer them which haue it in possession.

*Cic. in Cat. maior.*

**D** *Marius* likewise gave all his spoyles gotten at *Vtica* amongst his souldiers: for that noble captaine was of opinion, that abundance of riches would effeminate the minds of gallant souldiers; whereupon his saying was as *Salust* citeth it. *Ex parente meo & ex alijs sanctis viris accepi, mundisq; mulieribus, viris laborem conuenire: omnibusque bonis opporrere plus gloria, quam diuisiarum esse; arma non supelle etiлем decori esse.* I haue learned this lesson of my father, and of other holy men, that curious and neate fashions are fit for women, and that labour and hardenesse becommeth men: moreouer that all good men should take more delight in glorie then in riches; that armour and not housshould furniture most decoreth and graceth a man. Likewise a generall must be constant in all well resolued actions, and at hostile defiance against all feare of man;

**E** skilfull in all active practise of armes, hauing wonne his place by desert of honour in the field; a man fortunate vpon attempts, and assaults, one that will stand like a stedfast trophie in the bodie and heart of his battell, Lyon-like de-meaning

meaning himselfe in eager fight with incomparable valiancie; leading, tray-  
ning, instructing, disciplyning, and encouraging his battailes, with a more  
then huinane spirit and prudencē, pricking their hearts forward to the field  
of victorie, with the golden spurre of his vertues. F

The states and liues of princes and of their people may not be committed to  
men exalted by birth or other detert and fauour in those degres onely: but  
vnto men approued in these & such like heroical conditions. The knowledge  
(which he must of necessarie with all carefull diligence & affection embrase) is  
attayned in iudicious hearing, and obseruing of actions, from the true relation  
of accomplished souldiers in their attempts, escairmouches, defences, charges,  
formes of battels, assaults, countermynings, sodaine, close, and vnexpected ca-  
misafoes, in their secret treaties, priuie confederacies, articles of truice or sur-  
render; and such ingenuous and noble choise of hidden stratagems, as haue  
best suited with the time, the place, and persons in opposition. For (vpon such  
his curious obseruation) to declare the singular quicknesse or ingenuous fa-  
gacitie and perspicuitie of his wit and iudgement; he shall be stirred vp (in  
hope of endlesle honoř) to devise snares, sleights, and labyrinths to blinde  
and intangle his enemies after soone other new forme vnheard or thought of:  
which (by how much the more strange it is) maketh the securitie for the ac-  
complishment thereof so much the readier when time for execution shall H  
serue: herein his indefatigable industrie, his bodies abilitie, his mindes alacritie,  
shall best to life appeare. Reading of hystories (which I before commended  
in a secret counsellor) will furnish and illuminate his knowledge and vnder-  
standing specially: for certaine it is, that it best behoueth Generals to attaine  
knowledge by reading before they begin to practise: because such are other-  
wif preposterous that practise before they know how to doe. For after some  
excercise and insight into the warres, his owne experience will bee the best  
guide vnto himselfe if he be wise, obseruing, and industrous, as well for the  
order, and instruction of his battailes, and armes; as in the care, and intricate  
cunning, of premeditating and deciphering his enemies plots, purposes, and  
attempts, before they can happen; how to auoid and frustrate their deuices in  
execution of them; what wayes and meanes remaine to turne their actions,  
once commenced vpon their owne headeſ; and lastly, how to whistle them  
forward with a faire and negligent semblance bearing a perfect colour to their  
aduantage, vntill such time as being once entred their estates be distressed, mi-  
ſerable and remediſſe. All which (with infinite of that nature, to a wit which  
is wise and honourable, ſtill working and alwayes exerciſed in glorious cogi-  
tations) will diuinely ſpring by ſtudious knowledge of Histories. To this  
adioyne the eadie meanes and reaſons of haſtening, and lingring warre, the  
cauſes exciting in him preſent hope, or feare of happy chaunce, or calamitie K  
Which ſhould not moue or diſcourſe him (as I ſpake before in the ciuill  
counſellor) for it is vulgar that no wiſe man can be diſmaied, or ouer-houen  
therwith: euen (in time of peace) he muſt giue ſure appearance of his exte-  
rior fortitude and affiduitie, by carefull exerciſing, & encouraging of the peo-  
ple and veterans ordained for ſeauice in their marches, counter-marches; di-  
uers

**A** uers fashions and ready formes of drawing themselues into squares, or cubes, cylinders, or lozanges, triquits, and pyramids vpon a sudden, as they shall be commanded or directed to serue, with most aduantage against the enemis: alwayes yeelding a renouned example of his labour and painfulnesse in busynesse, of valor and fortitude in danger, of diligence and vehemencie in actions, and of expedition in execution, after perfect maturitie in deliberation.

The interior goodnesse and bountie (which accompanieth him) is decently garnished with temperance, innocencie, faithfulnesse, gentlenesse, humanitie, prudence, and foresight; requiring a vertuous circumspetion and doubt, as in not committing any thing to the wheele of fortune, but vpon in-

**B** evitable necessitie, least his actions be racked vpon it, as hath beene found in diuers captaines, which by the like temeritie fell downe, when they with all their forces leaned vpon her wheele. For they that in rage and crueltie charge their enemies (whom they rather contemne then take heed of) are not well aduised, because faults in fight are not easily redressed: as *Lamachus* (who gouerning an Armie) replyed; that *warre mighs not permis one fault twise*. Temeritie therefore in martiall actions, is both foolish and vnfortunate: howbeit, the General should alwayes bestow himselfe in some needfull busynesse being wholly gouerned in all his imprese by reason, without any respect of fortune. For it is not in strength and audaciousnesse onely, whence victorie

**C** must be deriuied, but in true courage and nobilitie: considering that *Omnis off. i. vis non strain animo, & corpore sita est: alterum nobis cum diis, alterum cum bello* *comune*: All humane force is planted in the minde, and in the body: by the mentall force we be fityly resembled vnto the gods, by corporall strength onely to brute beasts: and you shall note it certaintely, that those which put most affiance in corporall strength, repose most in fortune and good lucke, and nothing in prudence. And hence was it that sapience is accounted as one inseparable companion and captaine ouer every Generall which directeth him: for those which trust in other force then that which is marshalled by sapience, be like vnto those of whom the Prophet *Barnab* speaketh: *And those Gyans whom cap. 3.*

**D** *the Lord hath not chosen perished, because they wanted wisdom*. Wherewpon *Trogi Pompeius* saith, *Alexander victoriam obtinuit qui consilio gubernauit ex- lib. 11. ercitum: Alexander was a conqueror, because he gouerned his Armies by* counsell. And that excellent wise Poet *Horace*.

*Vim temperatam di quoque provehunt.*

*lib. 3. Ode 4.*

**E** And hence is it likewise, that the noble and true-fighted Poet *Homer*, in the *lib. 2. Illiad.* person of *Agamemnon* saith; that *he could with ease haue sacked Troy, hauing but ten such as Nestor, whose wisedome was the discipline of his warre*: Considering how by sapience and prudent fore-sight, wise captaines may with a few handfuls triumph ouer many legions, & worke out their honors in despight of fortunes malignitie: which accordeth well with those common Proverbes: *Sapiens sibi fortunam fingit & dominabitur astris*: A wise man will shape out his

owne fortune, as he would haue it, and will antiuert the fatall influence of his F  
 starres. Authoritie befitth also, which includeth the true loue and reu-  
 erence of souldiers vnto their leaders : this is none of the small respects to-  
 wards his administration of warre. Adde vnto these seueritie which doth  
 purchase this benefit in a Commander, when no man in Campe nor Garison  
 offending, can expect more fauour then is limited by the Lawes of Armes. For  
 soldiers (albeit they delight in lenitie) contemne milde captaines such as  
*Scipio* was, whom *Fabius* therefore accused to the Senate, as a corruptor of the  
 Romane militarie discipline. Austeritie therefore procureth obedience to-  
 wards Generals (although their seueritie be disliked) which being well attem-  
 pered with courteous behauour, winneth grace and loue. This by the Leiu-  
 tenant generall his bodily paines and exercise amonst his souldiers is soonest  
 attained, by his apparell and other corporall ornaments, little differing in  
 forme and substance from some of theirs, by his charitie, which together with  
 punishment for their faults, is planted in a mercifull care and consideration  
 how to relieue the poore distressed and wounded souldier, with clothes, food,  
 and chirurgerie. In all which actions meddled (as I said) with a competent se-  
 ueritie the Generall winneth of his souldiers a fatherly reuERENCE, and filiall  
 feare with all conformable obedience. Such a worthy precedent to Generals  
 was giuen in the person of *Anniball* (which *Liuie* recordeth) when his soul- H  
 diers in pursuit of the *Numidians*, had passed the great riuer *Trebia*, and being  
 come to land their ioynts and members were so starke (what with the could  
 wind which then in winter bet vpon them, and partly with the water which  
 tooke them vp to the breft) that at night before every Tent *Anniball* caused a  
 great fire to be made, and sent oyle vnto his souldiers to molifie their bodies  
 being agealed with cold extreamely : by which meanes, and presently with  
 good victuals refreshed and cherished (as it is generally noted throughout in  
 the care and prudence of *Anniball*) the next morning they became forward,  
 seruiceable, and eager of battell. His tenderneſſe towardes them wanne that  
 loue in their hearts, as being otherwise a man of ſeuere discipline amongst  
 his souldiers, the loue of his care equalled in them the feare of his dis- I  
 cipline.

There is a needfull kinde of discipline required in generals and chieftaines, K  
 which punisheth priuate wrongs in their souldiers mutually done amongst  
 themſelues : for otherwise they would fall to quarrels, disgraces, factions, and  
 mutinies. Inſomuch as if they be well disciplined (what with experience,  
 and partly by good example grounded therepon, namely when the Lawes  
 of Armes are ſeuereſtly diſtributed, and executed vpon ſuch with death, with  
 corporall punishment, or pecuniarie mulct, according to the qualities of their  
 faults which either ſhall ſhewe diſobedience towards thoſe Officers vnder  
 whose charge they ſerue, or ſhal fight in Campe or within the precincts there-  
 of, leauing their colours without licence had before of the Generall or Ma-  
 rischall, onely to ſatisfie ſome priuate reuenge intended vpon malice or ran-  
 tor) then will they grow ciuill and carefull how to preferue the common  
 peace of their Campe amongst themſelues.

**A** Infinite of these examples in my knowledge & such as are vulgarly knownen to souldiers, I pretermit in this point; only this is a certaine truthe, that if a priuate souldier or other person not priuate being grieuously disgraced or iniured at his fellowes hands, cannot vpon complaint made vnto the magistrate & commander find redresse, it is full of perill to them that should order the same. For men in grieuous wronges are naturally couetous and eager of vengeance, which some stubborne and implacable hearts will prosecute with all violence to the prejudice & confusion of their contrey, rather then faile: for wrath hath no power to retaine either reason or mediocritie, when it is once vnquenchably kindled with the wild fire of vengeance; but outrageously tyrannizeth

**B** in extremes, negligently, but more fiercely rather rushing and encoutring with the ruine of it selfe, & the confusion of all things next it, which it eagerly deoureth: and they that are of that fierie mettall, take glory like *Diogenes*, to beate the schoolemaster for a fault in the scholler, as *Pausanias* did, who being a very beautifull youth in the court of *Philip* K. of Macedon great *Alexanders* father did suffer, or was forced with violence of *Attalus* one of the king his minions for the beastly staunching of his vnnaturall lust: of which filthinesse hauing made hanious complaint vnto the king (who did not onely neglect the punishment, but did afterwards aduance that preposterous villaine to the place of a presedent ouer some prouince) *Pausanias* gathering with indignation dailly more and more poysone of strong despight vpon such apparant iniustice, at the mariage of King *Philip*s daughter with the prince of Epirus, before the bridegrome and his sonne *Alexander* amongst a thousand armed persons of the guard he desperately murthered him. Souldiers therefore as I said before, will through the captaines industrie become seruiceable and valiant.

Such therefore as propose honor for the meed of their trauels are cold, resolute, of a quiet and vnbroken spirit, knitting vp all their vertues in that action to which the whole force of mind & bodie must be bent: not fighting to winne the garland for others, but principally proposing the wagers honour for themselfes: & hence happeneth that mercenaries cannot combat with that true courage and martiall-alacritie which natvie contrimen will: for they fight only for a little wages; and such venture of life, and hazard of themselfes will not serue in time of neede, vnlesse it be very wonderfully seconded with frequent, and those gallant succours, knowing how many noble princes haue miscarried in reposing vpon such hollow valours. Moreouer natvie souldiers both by the causes necessity, and in hope of a glorious conquest wherin the largest portion of iust reputation happeneth to themselfes, wil put to their most excellent and best approued force; to such men feare and difficulties are contemptible: the cause of this their excellent valor proceedeth from the goodnesse of a true parent in person of their prince, who will share his honours & commodities with them, and from the noble worthinesse of their commaunders and leaders being natvie contrimen and engraffed to their societies. *Tullus Hostilius* successor of Numa, notwithstanding the fourtie yeeres intermission from warre did onely choose his souldiers out of his owne cities reiecting all auxiliaries of the Samnites and Tuscans which had beeene well disciplined, trayning his owne

**E** *Z ij* *people;*

people, and through them attained conquest. Likewise king *Henrie of Mon-* F *mouth* the fist of that name, from the conquerour king *William* the first, for his right in the Crowne of France, vsed his owne English souldiers, and returning loaden with triumphes and victories obtained by them, that during all the dayes of his father, and for thirtie yecres space before had not worne any warlike furniture: whereas in contrary, the French had bene exercised in continual warre against the Italians, and assissted or oppressed rather with those hirelings of Switzerland. The best forme of fighting in warre was in making of great battailes, being composed of the most approued men in field for valour, placed in the maine battaile or middle bodie of the hoast: for men which being vnited fight together in multitudes, be much more valiant by nature G then in small companies or handfuls.

Also the speciall thing which hangeth vpon the discipline and honour of the Generall, is that the souldiers be duely paid their wages, and relieved with victuals, which winneth in them a dutifull kind of reuerence and awfull respect of their gouernours. This loue in them exceedeth the force of gold, and the power of all opportunities and occasions, which can happen by times or places. For that which maintaineth wars commonly proceedeth from contribution of the people towards the common defence against forren violence; and this lasteth no longer then they can be defended. Likewise all places naturally munited and fortified are nothing without the willing aide of men valiant to defend them by force: considering that treasure is wonne by the H sword, and not the swords vertue by treasure. These foure points in the Generall, therefore make excellent souldiers, and confirme Empire: Industrious and due discipline, strong armes and sufficient for the fight, iust paiment of wages, and a competent prouision of victuals; adde hereunto the fist (which is the roote, mother, and perfection of all noble seruice and conquest) being the firme loue & hearty reuerence of the souldiers. These points which haue beene formerly noted by the politike Florentine Secretarie to *Pietro de Medici* to conserue and augment, th'empire which he would haue had him haue sought for, consist in manning of the strong cities with souldiers, borne in the same prouinces, in conciliating the friendship and societie of neighbouris, I in planting colonies for defence vpon the skirts of their newly subdued prouinces, in the spoiles of enemies, in forraging and hauocking vpon their haruest and husbandrie, in choosing rather to draw them together for battell in Campe, then to besiege them within their cities, in studious respect of the common cause and profit onely, in th'instructing and disciplining of souldiers, in the knowledge and vse of armes; which eight points, if the prince or lieutenant neglect, hee may percase devise notwithstanding other meanes for the conseruation of his owne, but never for the amplification of Empire; which augmentation if it should happen by lawfull meanes, as by the meere prouidence, suggestion, and disposition of God doth not impugne K Christian religion, but is most noble and louable.

For some princes might vnder counterfeit pretext force men to defend their owne, pretending a right in some things not belonging vnto them:

The

A The mainten. nce whereof may giue occasion vnto them, which execute Gods punishments vpon ambitious vsurpers, by diuine int:igation to diuest them of all: for somuch as they will not leaue any thing which their vnsatiate auarice hath appetit to deuoure; for euery man is permitted to loue honour, and protec: his countrie: and the reason why so fewe free people and States are in comparison of former times, and such a defect of true louers and of valiant champions of liberties in comparison of former ages (as a wily Commonwealths man hath noted) is, that people in hope of beatitude, and towards the fruition of a second comfortable life, devise in these dayes how to tollerate and not to reuenge iniurie: as if that no saluation could come from aboue, but by keeping of their swordes and armes rustely sheathed and cased;

B when a vehement necessitie doth importune the contrarie; whilst they softishly nuzzling themselves in sluggish securitie, vtterly condeyne the lawfull meanes and courses of warre, restoring that needfully by force of swords, which no law nor charmes of perwasiu: words can accomplish.

There yet appendeth this discipline of souldiers, one principall respect of the captaines, that neither they crush nor excoriate the poore husband-men, which I partly touched in the Morals of my second Booke: for if it may be said vnto fraudulent merchāts (whose consciences are blasted with a couetous lethargie) Whether O yee fooles shall your soules trauell? What then may be spoken of such soldiers, that neither being contented with their stipend, or

C wages, nor with meat & drinke when they be faint with marching long iourneys vnder the languishing weight of their armour, which by poore husband-men is dayly ministred vnto them, in a kinde of fearefull charitie? For these like the bastards and counterfeits of honour, rauenously spoyle and take away the goods of those which entertaine them; shewing all cruell ingratitude towards them as vnto slaues in meede of their hospitalitie with grieuous stripes, terrible menaces, and torturing those poore labouring catuies vpon the strappado of their vnsatiable couetousnesse euen to the last tester, which these fiely creatures do pittifullie lay downe at their feet to be rid of that fearefull tempest, which those vnthankfull & barbarous guests raise in their cottages.

D For the preseruation of the weale, and securitie of Armies from feare and dangers of enemis, all deuises ought to be followed; as in the faithfull promises of the aduersaries, of confederates, of friends, and of their assured succours; but the speciall assurance is grounded in the generals person, who may by prudent direction so fashon out his estate, that he preuent his enemies of all wayes and meanes tending to his preiudice: whose principall happiness is to force them into such a difficult strait, as without his clemencie no relief may seeme to remaine vnto them. Hee should also concerning auxiliaries

E and power of confederates, repose surest trust in succours of them, that reciprocally stand in most need of his helpe, or of him that either in respect of priuate profit or detriment is interessed in depth of the cause, not building in any case vpon those whom hee hath benefitted, least hee remedilesly exclaime against ingratitude, by the example of *Demetrius Poliorces*, who hauing been a great friend and faithfull anchor of the *Athenians*,

ans, yet (being vnfortunately vanquished by his enemies) *Ashens* that vngrate- F  
 full citie, would neither receiue nor protec<sup>t</sup> him, comming thither for refuge, where he was the shield-herne before : whereat *Demetrius* was more vexed then for the losse of his whole estate. And likewise *Pompey* being vanquished by *Cesar*, fled to *Ptolemie* king of Egypt, whom he soone yeres before had restored, and planted in his kingdome: but for such his goodnesse towrdes him, *Ptolemie* tooke away his life. Which if ingratitude may doe, Princes, and Generals should not thinke but that in truces, leagues, confederacies, and pactions (which are but temporary, conuentions, or accords, without any sufficient hostages, sureties, cautions, or pledges deliuered) if daunger and losse of the whole armie depend thereupon, little hope will remaine of keeping league or friendship with most Princes, or opposite Commanders in warre. But if it were admitted that any Prince should partake with the forces of some more puissant than himselfe, as his friend assistant, let him assuredly perswade himselfe that it is either because he findeth by reasons good, and more then probable, that his helpe can restore him: or else because he likewise hateth those parties against which he ioyneth in armes, so much as can- not be with any meanes pacified. And hence it is that vpon due deliberation (after the example of the Romanes) first had the Generall with huge force and in short time, should doe his designe. For they comming with multitudes H of men to the field, presently decided the cause with their swords. To the conquered they granted conditions of peace, and lawes, or deducted colonies of souldiers for tuition of their purchase, so that in short time they finisched their warres, and without any great expence of treasure: For the Romanes would not trifl, or waste away the time of their busynesse, in idle or vnecessarie parlliance; and yet so truely noble, that they more respecting the name of conquest, then the couetous nature of conditions offered, would immediate- I ly when the field was wonne, out of their natvie heroycall customes and inclinations graunt vnto the vanquished all fauourable libertie, declaing more then matchable magnificence in that; according to that saying in *Salust* a- gainst *Cariline*, *Victis nihil prae*ter* iniuria licentiam eripiebant Romani: The Ro- manes tooke nothing from them whom they subdued, but a licence or power to doe them harme. If any spoyles were gotten, them they brought into the publike treasure for maintaining of the souldiers, and easing of the peoples tributes; so that the Romanes were inriched and bettered by their warres. Neither was it permitted that any Consull (albeit he had in sundry noble battels and victories amplifid the Empire) should passe in pompe and triumph thorough the Citie, vnesse he brought with him into the common treasurie infinite spoyles of gold and siluer also.*

How souldiors ought to be resolued in battell, and to demeane themselves K by direction of their captaines, is spoken of sufficiently before: only this must be narrowly respected, which is most forcible to the stirring vp, or cooling of their martiall courages in fight, or vpon the point of charge: that sodaine spee- ches and reports bee dispersed, with wariness and ready circumspection through the battels, as *Quinctius* the Consull vised in his battels against the *Volscians*,

**A** *Volscians*. For he finding his souldiers incline in the vaward, cryed vnto them amayne; *Why turne you faces in the frons (my good souldiers) . considering that they which fight in the reare haue got the victorie. Remember my good fellowes your honour which is layd vp (as you know) in the bosomes of your enemies, from whence you must eagerly winne it with your weapons.* This sodaine speech of his did adde such courage to them, that with a valiant resolution vnitng and kniting vp all their forces together, they became Lords of the field.

In the Citie *Perugia* there was a faction, betwixt the families of the *Odi* Nis: Mach. lib.  
3. de d. corsi  
sopra ad d. Tito.  
Lyon. and *Baglioni*, in opposition mortally diuided; but the *Oadi* being more weake, were banished by that State: howbeit in the night-time, by meanes of

**B** certaine their friends within the towne, they got enterance priuily, purposing with their forces to possesse the market place; and to that ende had one to goe before them with a great mallet of yron to breake the locks of those chaynes which barricadoed the streetes in euery place, to the great hinderance of their horses as they should passe: they therfore hauing marched vnto the last chaine, and being readie to possesse the place where they purposed to make a parado, fitting themselues for that exploit in hande, the souldiers pressed so farre and fast vpon him that should haue broken the chayne, that he was forced to call for more roome, and to bid them give backe: they therefore bing in a troupe confused and close together, receiued the word by the sound of *Ecco* from the first to the last: And those which stood in the reare, not knowing the meaning thereof did turne faces, and so were occasion of their generall subuersion.

In such sort *Jugurth* seeing the state of his battels desperate, vpon the coming in of *Bocchus*, strooke terror into the hearts of his enemies, by speaking in the Latin tongue (which Language he had learned at *Numantia*) that the field was his, that to resist his forces was in vaine, that a little before he had slaine *Marius* with his owne hands, and therewithall pretending that it was brought from the slaughter of *Marius*, shewed his sword yct smoking and dyed with blood. Moreover, this ought specially to be noted in fight, that he

**D** which can patiently sustaine the first charge, and yeeld with calme temper to the rage of his enemies (though they be twise in number so many) may spend all their forces, by warie lingring and catching of occasions wilily watched for. He should also (which commandeth them) giue good respect in his fighting, to the aduantages of ground, winde, and sunne; and with fresh handfulls for his better seonding and reliefe march gallantly forward. Neither can it be spoken what encouragement it addeth to the souldier, faint and wearied with blood and conflict, when hee seeth new succours freshly charging and participating of their trauels with martiall alacritie. Neither is it a small terror to the enemies, weakened, alayed and surrounded with the stubborne blowes of their enemies to finde and feele fresh gallants proudly marching, and come to tyrannize ouer the bodyes and spirits of their adueraries, already wearied and halfe dead which grew faint and feeble with continuance in fight, leauing not any member of the opposite battels free from blood and wounds.

Likewise if the souldiers be discouraged in fight, either by some negligence or

or other occasion loose the field: it is great wisdome in the General religiously F  
 to let them know that their neglect, or contempt of Gods feare and seruice  
 hath driuen them into the feare and seruitude of men, and also prophetically  
 with a vehement maiestie to threaten vnto them the iudgements of God in  
 their slackenesse, encouraging such in their eager sharpenesse & iolly resoluti-  
 on either by some valorous example in himselfe, as that victorious Emperour  
*Julius Caesar* did in his warres against the Galles, when he from a faint hearted  
 souldier that doubted of victorie, did snatch a shield, wherewithall couering G  
 himselfe, he did most eagerly fight, infusing a liuely fortitude and stedfast resolu-  
 tion to his desparing souldiers, by that notable example in himselfe, which  
 drew them into the field of victorie: or by some other diuine meanes and  
 promises when they shall find it most fit; as the Romanes which at the long  
 siege of Veij growing wearie, and coueting to returne vnto their houeshold-  
 gods at Rome, their capaines wylled them to persist in honorable valor vnder  
 a religious pretext; signifying that the lake Albanus ouerflowing, pretended  
 the subuersion of that citie the same yeere, according to th'oracle. The Pro-  
 phet (by whose prediction it happened) for to confirme the souldiers more  
 in those his presages was left captiue at Rome, vntill th'oracle was accom-  
 plished. And hence was it that the souldiers recouering more spirits in heart did  
 continue their assiege, and within that yeeres limite possessed the towne. The  
 like was scene in *Bel'eses* a Babilonian, skilfull of the Caldean auguries and di-  
 uination, who by the starres prefiged a subuersion of the Assyrian monar-  
 chie, encouraging *Arbaces* and his souldiers (after that *Sardanapalus* had thrise  
 vanquished him in battailes before) to persist and continue force against  
 him with fresh supplies: which he did, happening according to the soothsayers  
 prediction; but more as me seemeth through pusillanimitie which deiected  
 the prince being then fortified within *Niniue*, who feared an old oracle,  
 which hee thought was fulfilled in falling of some part of the cities wall. And  
 certaine it is that the force of religion will vehemently moue souldiers to con-  
 tinue valiant in assurance of victorie, by diuers examples out of *Liuie*, when  
 their estates were most desperate and remediless; yeelding a diuine force and  
 light vnto their actions, if the capaines can by stratagemmes to themselues I  
 onely knownen, harden their resolutions to performe what they shall deuise,  
 not making them acquainted with any thing fawing execution. It is likewise  
 a principall part of the Generals duetie, that (before the battell, and eue-  
 ry morning, when they be brought by troupes into the plaine, to be reduced  
 into ranks or Battagliæs, likewise at euening after their marches before their  
 comming into the quarter; moreouer during the fight, and after the slaughter)  
 his speciaall care tend, that diuers Chaplaines, Priests and Preachers make  
 deuoute prayers, intercessions, and spirituall exhortations through his whole  
 hoast, which hath alwayes beeene most auailable. For from heauen commeth K  
 fortitude and as it is written in the *Machabees*: *Jonathan rent his rayment*, and  
*having besmeared his head and face with earth*, *fell to prayer*, and then returned un-  
 to the battells of his armies, and put his foes to flight. And as it is written likewise  
 in *Exodus*: *When Moyses lifted up his hands and prayed, Israel had the better ouer*  
*his*

**A** his enemies. And they (which after such sacred preparations and resolutions by fighting in a good and honourable cause loose their liues) be said proper-  
ly to die in the bed of honour. A memorable example of such pietie with  
happie successe ensuing it, may be taken from the sacred legend of *Judas Mac-  
chabeus*, which all the nations of the world from those to these dayes, even to  
the dissolution of this vniversall nature natured, shall most honorably recom-  
mend and remember.

For the beleaguriag, surprizing, taking in, and fortifying of townes,  
bulwarkes, castles, foirtresses, sconces, and other defences, I refiere it like-  
wise to the knowledge of captaines and souldiers experienced. Only this for  
**B** that we reade it from the wisedome and sacred institution of God in *Deutero- Cap. 20.*

*nomie* : that at sh'affeige of any citie captaines should first offer peace ; and  
*if they that be distresed make peaceable offers, or offer peaceable conditions they  
should haue peace graunted unto them, and bee made tributarie and seruantes unto  
their conquerers: but if they should in obſtinate heart conſtinue warre, then ſhould the  
adueraſie mainſtaine his ſiege* : For ſaith he, God will deliuer them into thy hands ;  
then put all the male children to ſword, reſeruing the women and all other goods  
for thy ſervice and commoditie. Cut not downe any fruit trees, for they ſhall ſerue  
for thy comfort and ſuſtenance ; but of all other trees which are fit to further the  
aſſeige and ſerue for fortification, to make bridges, or to ſtaunche moates and di-  
ches.

**C** The Romanes in ſurprifall or taking in of citties, would not endure the  
needleſſe charge of long ſieges ; and therefore they wonne all townes, either  
by force apparent, or ſtratagemme. By force, as either with ſudden and vnu-  
expected assaults, by ſcaling ladders and multitudes of ſouldiers ſeconding one  
another in their ſcaladoes ; and that was commonly performed with one dayes  
ſeruice, as *Scipio* tooke in Carthage : or if with more time then they did vſe *Pide Liuii 26.*  
*Vide Liuium*  
*lib. 5.* rammes, engines, vnderminings ; as the citie Veij was wonne by raiſing vp  
of wooden frames or turrets higher then the walles from whence the ſouldier  
might wound and diſtreſſe with diuers darts, arrowes, flinges, crossebowes

**D** and other weapons, ſuch as kept within the walles for defence and mainte-  
nance of the citie : in ſomuch as the walles being battered with rammes, the  
citizens relieved themſelues ; as other townes and peeces at this day doe, when  
they repaire the breaches of cannons, by retiring or filling and reforitifying  
after the breach. Their pyoneers likewiſe countermining againſt their opposite  
minings, as in this age is vſually reſiſting them in iſſue with pikes and ſuch wea-  
pons as ſerue fitteſt. They did alſo ſtaunche vp their enemis minings with  
ſtrawe, brimſtone, oyle, feathers, or ſuch filth : which being ſet on fire  
within the close and dampiſh earth would choke, vp ordriue them backe with  
grosse ſmoke and noiſome fauour.

**E** The course of winning ſuch places (as before I noted) is by mixt force  
or ſtratagemme ; as alſo by ſecret conſpiracieſ or confederacieſ, as in corrup-  
ting certaine the principall gouernors, or captaines of thofe townes or pe-  
eſes : and yet there is danger in reposing truſt or credite in ſuch mercenarie  
ſaiſh, which is not commonly current. For the whole ſtate of an Armie,

(which is indeed the carcasse of a kingdome) may not onely be grieuously F wounded, but irreuocably broken by that meanes : or it may percase be laid open by some accident or other. As it of late dayes happened when *Vlissingen* should haue beeene taken in, Sir *Robert Sidney Vicount Lylle* Gouernour, ha-  
ving had notice of the trecherie by very strange meanes and vnexpected, by which the plots may be confounded. Certaine places may bee wonne by traine vnder trust: as *Amiens* was taken by the stratagemme of carts, about nine yeeres sithence. To stand longer vpon such deuises being so frequent and well knowne to militarie gouernours and masters, were intirely needlesse, referring them to *Cæsar*, *Thucydides* and *Linie*, whose Hystories are fully fur-  
nished with mater of that nature.

In the assiege of any Towne or Peece whatsoeuer being strongly muni-  
ted, the principall course is to begin with all violence, and to take away from  
the besieged all future meanes and hopes of lingring and protracting suc-  
cours. For the procrastination or protraction of one day, or houre in such  
services (whereby the distressed Citizens or souldiers might haue beeene re-  
lieued in the delay) may draw with it sufficient opposition to remoue the  
assiege, and to deliuer the places from all danger. It is also most perilous in  
contrary to the defence and fortification of any Towne (being vehemently  
beleaguered by force) to linger out in hope of succours, vntill they come to H  
the very centre of all extremitie; for then remedies and meanes of all sortes  
are altogether fruitlesse, and vnprofitable to people in such a lamentable case,  
being inuironed and neere oppressed with their enemies, when the poyson  
hath already dispersed it selfe through the heart veines.

*Bell. Iugurth.*

In th'assiege of *Zama*, the Romanes vnder *Marius* (as *Salust* writeth) vsed  
this kinde of fight (wherein is viuely set forth the true manner of those an-  
cient Romanes in scaling of cities, or castles walles, and in defence of them)  
*Pars eminus glande aus lapidibus pugnare, alijs succedere, ac murum modò suffode-  
re, modò scalis aggredi, cupere pralium manibus facere. Contra oppidani in proxi-  
mos saxa volvere, fudes, pilas: præstera picem & sulphure radam mistam ardensi-  
mittere; plerosque iaculis, tormentis, rebusque manu emisso vulnerabani:* Some of  
them from farre fighting did throw from their engins bullets or gun-stones,  
others succeeded, and sometimes vndermined the walles, and otherwhiles at-  
tempted to scale them with ladders, desiring to haue them brought to battell  
at hand. In contrary those that were within the towne, did throw stones up-  
on them that were neerest within their reach; likewise they did cast sharpe  
stakes or billets, and darts; likewise balles of burning pitch, and torches dipped  
in brimstone: diuers persons they did wound and hurt with arrowes, en-  
gynes, and other things throned by strength of arme.

In the conquest and surprisall of Kingdomes, Prouinces, Cities, or Castles, K  
the true touch of a noble Generall is seen, in his prohibiting and cohibiting  
of all violence vsed agaist women, punishing with death according to marti-  
all lawes, the rapes & constuprations of matrons and virgines, emblasmoning in  
his whole apport vpon the victory, with all heroycall humiliation & modesty,  
that honor which so mightily magnified *Scripio Africanus* vpon his surprisall  
of

**A** of *Carthage*. For (hauing at the sacke thereof a captiue virgin of incomparable beautie, presented vnto him by certaine of his captaines which had taken her) he with most singular and gracious humanitie, preciously valuing and prising her honour as his owne, did not onely with great gifts and iewels which he bestowed vpon her, but without any blemish or assiege laid vnto her maiden-head gloriously dismissit her with a conuoy. Which that noble (though vnfortunate) Lord *Robert Deuereux* late Earle of Essex, Anno 1596. declared at Cadiz : where like a true *Scipio* both in valour and discipline, hee left the spoyles of that towne in speciall to his souldiers reseruing for himselfe as his owne share inualuable, a right renouned and infinite bruit of his victories, which vpon that felicitie like a cannon shot suddenly battered and made a breach in the rebated spirits of Spaine : the report of which noble peece was heard farre beyond the extremest confines of Christendome ; insomuch that the Mahemitan Monarch hearing of that sudden braue, seconded the scoffe (which his Predecessor had darted at king *Philip the second* An. 1588.) with another harsh taunt more bitterly relished. By which meanes the fame of that noble warrior grew so great, that our Soueraigne (which had not beene knowne to diuers Potentates of this world) was by the bruit of his valour and victories made famous, and immortall also. I cannot sufficiently set downe what in my iudgement, and by the relation of very iust and wise men of his secrets I haue considered and conceiued of that noble warrior :

**C** Howbeit thus much as the least of my iust obsequies to so renoued a Lord, he never was heard (that euer I could heare) to haue gloriied or boasted of his victories, or fortunate seruices : but in all his actions ciuile or military did refferre all with ioyfull humblenesse and thanksg giuing to God, and to the speciall wisdome and direction of his Prince, as a seruant and minister of theirs. And thus by specious declaration of his vertue in obedience, and of his modestie in speech, he still liued free from malice; and yet as a royll Deere alwayes pasturing within the golden pale of glorie. Howbeit (to his owne sondaine dissolution, and to the dolorous downefall and heauiness of his many friends which fell with him, and which lamented for him long after him) hee

**D** found it and left it which was by *Tacitus* written as a position infallible to bee pondered amongst all ambitious and aspiring subiects or other great ones, which cannot set limits to their owne appeties, *Quam formidolosum sit priuari hominis gloriam supraprincipis astrolli*: Which might be verified also by the example of *David*, who (though protected by the great prouidence of God) being but a shepheard (as I touched in my second Booke) to raigne in Israel, yet was (notwithstanding all his vertues, and honour in martyring king *Saul* his daughter) in danger to loose his life, by many trecherous conspiracies

**E** and attempts of his vnthankfull father in law. But that I may speake somewhat of him according to true iudgement and indifferencie: because paradynture some haue either maleuolently with exceeding bitternesse abused his honorable ashes contumeliously ; and others percase which haue as blindly in the contrary sanctified him as one more then a man beyonde his deserts, and the measure of his nature : both which are most odious to the true taste of

all noble natures: I say thus much, which they (that wisely did know him) F will acknowledge also. His minde was incomprehensible: by nature, a man much addicted to pleasures, but much more to glorie. If he were at any time luxurious (which some very impudently haue thrust vpon his dead coffin, a- gainst all truth and modestie) it was very little, and that when hee was idle, which was very sildome: howbeit neuer could any delicacies or corporall comforts drawe him (since he was employed in the publike counsels of his Prince and countrey) to neglect any serious businesse. He was eloquent, and well knew the guilefull trappes & insidious treacheries of this world, by good experience and much reading. He was affable and soone any mans friend, G that was either by friendes commended vnto him, or had any specious appa- rance of good qualities in him. The loftinesse of his wit (as I may most pro- perly terme it) was most quick, present and incredible: in dissembling with counterfeit friends, and in concealing of any matter and businesse of impor- tance, beyond expectation. He was bountifull, magnificent and liberall in all the course of his life, hauing commended multitudes of people vnto liuings, pensions, preferments, & great sums of money, as appeared both by the land of his owne, which he sould and ingaged to maintaine the same; and by the large dispensation of his Soueraignes treasure committed to his trust and dis- cretion. And which I may speake in truth most boldly, his fortune was al- wayes good before, as appeared in France and Cadiz; but much inferior to his valorous industrie (which with the great and weightie hammer of his rea- son and engine, did strike diuine beames and noble sparkes from the anuile of glorie) vntill his late vnsfortunate voyage in Anno 1597. and that his other pestilent and inauspicious expedition for Ireland: before which times it was difficult to be discerned, whether his valour or fortune were more. I my selfe a Boy, haue seene him in the French-warres to communicate in sports and sometimes in serious matters with men of meane condition and place, their fortunes and parentage valued; to bee delighted and exercised in labouring with the mattock in trenches, fosses, and in other workes amongst his battells, I to be busied in setting of watches, in making of barricadoes at his quarter, and in often walking the round. Also that vice (which contagious ambition much affecteth) could neuer be noted in him; which was to detract from the credite and good fame of any his fellowes in her Maiesties counsell, they be- ing absent, or of any other man: only this it went neere him and laie heauie to his heart, that any of them should be thought more wise or valiant then himselfe, being scarce a vice, but emulation rather proceeding from the mighti- nesse of his spirit; and (without doubt) he did exceed many of them in ma- ny things. By which meanes, euen as *Salust* describeth *Sylla*, so did he be- come precious in presence of his souldiers. From his child-hood hee was hardened with exercise, taking pleasure and some trauaile and labours which other men for the most part would haue reputed miseries and calamities. K His apprehension and prudence was admirable, by which he would and ma- ny times did preuent and turne the mischieves and fallacies of his enemies vp- on their owne heads; he was circumspect in all matters appertaining his owne office

**A** office and charge, and would not endure, if by any meates, counsell, or engine he could devise, to leaue any safe euasions or munitions offensive or defensive with his enemies. And that which was most rare in so great a captaine (though in discipline of warre, he declared himselfe severer as was fit, meeke and honourable towards his capaines which had well deserued) neither did his mildnesse and facilitie withdraw from his reputation, nor his severitie diminish the loue of his souldiers: only this to conclude of him in the person of a Generall. The end of his life was much lamented by the better and nobler part of his countrimen, it was very grieuous to them that were his friends and louers, it was pitied and repined against with a certaine kinde of regret by forrenners and strangers, which had heard of his valour, and those enemies

**B** or emulators rather of his heroicall vertues in Spaine and France, which had felt the weight of his valour, reioyced not vpon report of his death. I would if it had so pleased God, that he might haue died in the warres vpon the enemies of his countrey, that I might heroically with good cheere haue registered his death in these offices: to conclude with his discription of body briefly being the same, with that which *Tacitus* did write of *Julius Agricola*: *decemior quam sublimior fuis, nihil metu in uestu, grata oris supererat, bonum virum facile credideres, magnū libenter*. He was tall and in authoritie, yet was he more comely then loftie: in his forehead and countenance much valour and boldnesse were imprinted and exprested, his looks were very gratious; they that had

**C** iudiciously beheld him, would haue easily beleeued that he was a very good man, and would haue bene very glad to haue knownen him a mighty man: and that which was most rare and admirable in men of our age, in his distresse and calamities, his mind was not onely great and noble like his blood and place, but much loftier and firmer, then in his most firme honours, and prosperitie. And so much in briefe, so neere as I could haue I done to life, the morall qualities and perfections of that heroicall Generall without adulacion or partialitie. Now because I would be short, I will speake somewhat of some other respects and obseruations required in the person of a Lieutenant Generall.

**D** First therefore let all conditions of peace or truce with any people besieging or besieged (if they be cleare from any suspition of concealed daunger, yeelding meanes of quiet without more perill of further expense in future) be generally liked and embraced: but if they breede any buds or tokenes of the contrarie, let a wise captaine or gouernour shew speciall circumspection, least a pernicious and bloodie warre lurke vnder such insidious and perfidious pretext of peace, and some pestilent poysone be ministred in steepe of wholesome phisicke. In all wounds, extremities, and miseries he must repute of death

**E** as of the consummation of all calamities, and not as a vexation, that death disolueth all mortall perturbations: otherwise there cannot any place be left for grieve or ioy. He must therefore to be shrowd be partaker of prudence as I said before; because all aduantages in fight are attained thereby: for by that vertue, neither feare nor furie can dazell his vnderstanding. And therefore *Salomon* saith that in warre prudence is principally to bee required. And

2d. 1. cap. 2. in *Vegetius*, he that can shew many martiall scarres and vertuous markes of honour in his bodie, seemeth gratioues and acceptable in sight of them that are  
 2d. 1. cap. 2. in *Vegetius*, truely noble. It is likewise written, that *Antipater* of *Idumæa* which had serued in a captaines place long, during the warres of king *Herods* father was accused of treason against th' emperours person, and being appealed before him to make answere, opened a loose garment (wherewith he was then arayed) discouering the skarres of diuers grieuous wounds receiued in and vpon his bodie with these speeches. I will not with verball excuses cleere my selfe great Einperour, but in stede of wordes let these wounds, whose mouthes are extant, and now closed, by signes declare my loue and allegiance to-  
 wards you. Whereupon *Cesar* receiued him to grace, and would not any fur-  
 ther proceeding against his honor: and without doubt ther is no such glorie  
 to the renowne of a souldier, as honorable skarres & achiuements of many  
 battels, according to that noble saying of *Marius*: *Non possum fidei causa imagines neque triumphos aut consulatus maiorum ostendere, as fides postular has as, vexillum, phaleras, alia a militaria dona, præterea cicatrices aduerso corpore. Ha sunt mea imagines, haec mea nobilitas non hæreditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed que ego plurimis meis laboribus & periculis quæsui; doctus sum hostem ferire, præsidia agitare, nihil metuere præter turpem famam: hyemem & astatem iuxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore in opiam & labore in tollere: his ego præceptis milites hortabor; neque illos arcte colam, me opulentem, neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam: hoc est usque, hoc ciuile imperium.* I cannot make true declaration of the images, triumphes and consulships of my progenitors: but if neede require I can bring forth launces, and ensignes, caparisons, and other martiall honours bestowed vpon me for my deserts in warre, and wounds which I received vpon my bodie in conflict with enemies. These are my images, this is my nobilitie not left by inheritance as other men haue had their honours; but these my dignities haue I with my many labours and perils fought & attained: I haue learned how to wound mine aduersarie, to raise Garrifons, to stand in feare of nothing but of bad report: to beare with patience, cold and heat alike, to sleepe and rest my wearie carcase vpon the ground, at one time to tollerate hunger, thirst, and labour: with these perils will I persuade my souldiers; neither will I straiten them or see them euill intreated, when I haue plentie my selfe; nei-  
 will I make their labours my glory: this is a profitable and ciuill Empire. And these obseruations by the patterne of noble *Marius* will hearten and encourage Generals and captaines vnto true discipline and vertues.

These and such qualities of the like heroicall nature made the Romanes  
 victorious, inciting and pricking vp their souldiers to paines and valour. Nei-  
 ther would these renouned Romane Generals (as I haue partly noted else-  
 where) oppresse or deale extremely with any people whom they conquered,  
 but they did repute it to be their greatest maiestie to prohibit iniurie, and not  
 to suffer any man by wicked meanes to dilate his Empire. Besides, for disci-  
 pline (because it is one speciall thing which should be remembred) and I  
 haue in diuers places mentioned the same, being a thing so necessary to be  
 considered, that without it the fight or battels where euill instructed souldiers are

A is more like to *Larociny* then true warre. Horsemen in confused troupes without order or true direction of their Guydes & Cornets: foot-men intermingled with them not knowing how to draw themselues into rankes, and fyles, by due forme & order of battell, but many times at vnawares wounding, slaugh-tering, and maymynge one another, striking their enemies behind their backes, without honourable respect like brute beasts and sauages, and finally leauing themselues a spoyle and shame to their enemies, their children and posterite flauies to forreners, their Countrey the inheritance of ambitious and vnsati-able vsurpers, besides a perpetuall record of shame in all Hystories insuing. How needfull therefore it is for Capitaines to see their souldiers well armed,

B well practized in vse of Armes, and well disciplined, concerning their beha- uiour in the warres, is most apparent, when after a field by such negligence and confusion lost, they shall see their virgins and daughters rauished and deflowered, their male-children captiued or murdered, some of them vio- lently torne from the bosomes & imbracements of their parents, the mothers of children and of Families in presence of their owne husbands violently ex- posed and prostituted to the reasonlesse wills and lustes of the Conquerers, their Churches, holy things, houses, and treasures to bee spoyled and borne away before their eyes, murther and fire to rage every where in their desolate townes and cities; lastly, no place of their countrey to be free from Armes, dead corpses, blood and lamentation every where scattered.

C which things being so certaine and well considered, how needfull it is to discipline, instruct and incourage souldiers in the loue and ready practise of armes and of true valour is most evident, and ought to be the principall care of all heroycall Capitaines, which should neuer cease either meditating or practising to make their souldiers vnder their charge so perfect, resolute, obedient and valiant, as nothing may be thought to them on earth impregnable.

D And albeit the fortune of war consisteth alwayes vpon difficult and vncer- taine termes, yet most certaine it is that true valour mingled with absolute dis- cipline in souldiers, maketh a triumphant Monarchie. For what more excel- lent spectacle can there be to them that are Lordes and conquerors, through their good disposition and gouernment, then in the open fieldes to pursue their enemies in flight? to wound, slaughter, and captiuate them? to see their horses with the riders distressed? to see many of them which haue receiued wounds neither to find chirurgerie, nor meanes of escape? some of them des- parately to resist, and presently to fall downe? lastly to see the whole Campe couered with weapons, armor, and dead bodies, and the ground dyed into purple with their enemies blood? All which noble obiects and incourage- ments come onely by good discipline.

E But forso much as true fortitude, which is lincked in the golden armelet of other Morall vertues, and participateth with the rest is one and the noblest Counsellor, and executioner of all the worthie designes of a prudent Generall: I will therefore deliuer the members of that principle in moralitie.

Fortitude is an affection or habite of the minde, which vndergoing all honorable dangers, labours, and mischievous hazards considerately, represteth feare

feare and wrath: the corporall enemies of it are sicknesse and pouertie, mentall opposites, disgrace, iniurie, rebuke: it holdeth at defiance death, dolour and feare. He therefore that is truely valiant sheweth himselfe to be more than a man, as *Seneca* seemeth to witnesse.

*Seneca in  
Hor. furent.*

*Quemcunque miserum videris hominem scias,  
Quemcunque fortem videris miserum neges.*

Those that are vexed with miseries are men:  
They that are valiant feele no miseries.

G

The extremes of fortitude are temeritie and timerousnesse: rashnesse attempteth perils inconsiderately, which without mature consultation and in a blind force not respecting abilitie to perorme rulheth into dangerous actions, either through ignorance, pride, desperation, stupiditie, pusillanimitie, or some foolish ambition of vaine glory, which mancipateth the minde: whereas feare contrarily being vtterly voyd of reason or counsell, will bee so dainly peirced with the terrible bruit and vnexpected noyse of any thing, upon which true valor ought to give charge; and folke of such a leaden temper inclyning so much to the blinde loue of their owne liues, are not possessed of that hardnesse of true mettall which should oppresse such brutish turpitude and disgrace. *Horace* the Poet excellently counselleth in this case.

*Rebus angustis animosus asque  
Fortis appare: sapienter idem  
Conrakes vensonimum secundo  
Turgida vela:*

*Lib. 3 ad Nij.  
them.*

Let courage and true strength appeare in troubles: if in thy shippes sterne, a stiffe gale blow prosperously skanten thy sailes. Herein prudence is fitly ioyned with courage, restraining men from inconsiderate attempts, least like beasts they seeme to build more vpon a violent affection of minde, by profuse aduenture of their bodies, then accordeth with reason. There is a fortitude in men (as *Aristotle* defineth) depending vpon fortune, when people become fearelesse through want of a due fore-sight and precaution of perils, which sort of persons are ignorantly valiant: some there are which armed in the strength and goodnesse of their cause and conscience doe shew good valour; certaine which heartened in a kinde of fortitude by their skill, and vse in ready practise of weapons; others imboldened vnto valorous exploits in hope of victorie, by their naturall strength and artificiall agilitie; many that in regard of their often aduentures and escapes are hardened; but very valour is seen in scornefull contempt of ineuitable death; and in the cheerefull embracements of hazards and dangerous aduentures, without any feare in all honorable causes surely grounded and preconsulted.

Stoutnesse and magnanimitie which vndertaketh and endureth all difficulties

K

**A** ties with patience and perseveriance, being the substance and essence thereof, is incorporate to fortitude.

Stoutnesse is a stedfast confidence of minde, armed with assured trust and hope in great and honourable actions. Audaciousnes contrarieth it without consideration, judgement, and respect of honestie, violently and rashly precipitating it selfe into perils: whereas stoutnesse attempted with reason, warie respect, great boldnesse and moderation of the minde being inseparately fastned vnto vertue nobly worketh in the turbulent seas of danger. Pusillanimitie which is a base deiction or rather desperation of the mind opposeth it, yet commonly pursuing temeritie, by the example of *Philip* late King of

**B** Spaine, which (amongst other his vnauidised attempts, wherein the salt of warie premeditation was forgotten) luculently, to Gods vnspeakable glorie did appear in his militarie businesse undertaken against this nation (as I touched before) immaturity leuying armes not being soundly resolued how that action of such difficult and weightie consequence should bee managed or finished, wholy leaning vpon the fickle wheele of fortune, immesurably mounting in the pompe of his victories had in other places before, and onely through want of knowledge how to guide the gorgeous bridles of his prosperous tryumphes: but when the certaine successe of his shattered fleet (which inwardly daunced before, threatening the Brittaine seaes and shores,

**C** in foolish confidence of vndoubted conquest) had like a musket shaft peirced through his credulous eares to his trembling heart and late ambitious liuer, where it was deeply fixed; then as a weake and fraile woman impatiently throwing from him all royall and princely thoughts and courage, passionately did he teare off his owne beard, beating his forehead and breast impatiently, torturing himselfe with teares and lamentations in publike and priuat: vpon which his desperation, waxing fearelesse of any tokens or care in himselfe to conserue his owne Realms (which had so fouldly mist in seeking to master ours) made such appearance of his basenesse and viletie, playing the lowly part of a weake and feeble woman (which he prouided for our diuine Soueraigne Lady) that wise men did very iudiciously consider vpon it by certaine circumstances, how Queene *Elizabeth* might in the terror of that overthrow which thundered in Spaine amongst the *Castilian* courages, haue easly with a small power subiected that nation thereupon.

**D** Magnanimitie being the greatnessse of a mind invincible and mightie, the noble strength and stedfastnesse in execution of great and waightie matters, doth support and corroborate stoutnesse. Know therefore that heart to be noblest and most honourable in quest of all vertues, which is open, simple, without hypocrisie, graue, modest, repressing pride, merely great, forgetfull of iniuries done to it selfe, gentle, aiming at eternitie, contemning terrestrial benefits, readier to giue then to receiue, more studious of iust praiſe then profit. For this kind of nobilitie, conteinmeth that greatnessse which the profane vulgar admireth so much, conuersing in the restraint of all perturbations, in victorious resistance of all ambition, auarice, and fleshly desires; that it may with more constancie resist other calamities. This is seene in both prosperous

and aduerte chaunces when a man is not altered through either, but endureth F  
constant and the same in all.

Haughtinesse aspiring from a stubborn and fastidious spirit, and heart  
swolne vp with the poysone of pride, which violently rauisheth humane reason,  
and base abiection being the vilenesse and filth of mind are daungerous outlawes, transgressing beyond the borders of magnanimitie. From the first marcheth braggerie, foolish boasting and ostentation which issueth from folke  
blinded in louing conceit and admiration of some worthinesse which they  
misconceive in themselves; being a most ridiculous vice to be represented in  
enterlude by the person of *Thraso*, wholie repugnant to goodnesse and mode-  
stie, hatefull in the thoughts of all honest men, and acceptable to parasites G  
onely. The second being a foule abiection, and beastly downefall of mind  
eschewing labour, and neglecting matters of most moment, in feare of some  
griefe and care which accompanieth it, is altogether lopped and steeped in  
fluggishnesse: such brutish people faint and languish in the quest of honoura-  
ble and important affaires as *Sardanapalus* and *Helegabalus* did. Vnto these  
already mentioned, adde a desire of good fame; opposite to which is ambiti-  
on, and neglect of honest report, of impudencie: but a moderate desire of ho-  
nour which is placed betwixt ambition and the contempt of dignitie merely  
proceeding from a mind that aspitemeth to the reward of her vertues, is in my H  
iudgement laudable and ambicious: if I dare make a maxim positiuely of  
that which *Aristotle* holdeth ambiguously for a paradox. But to conclude  
with this vertue magnanimitie, Philosophers thinke it to be the rule how to  
desire and seeke for honour by due desert, moderating and directing humane  
appetite in the acquisition of great and mightie matters: her sisters accompa-  
ning are humilitie, patience, magnificence, and mansuetude, which is a calme  
spirit interset betwixt wrath and indulgence: the meanes to restraine wrath  
and hatred are, not to be couetous of vengeance, seldome though sometimes  
vpon iust cause to be angry, to wrong and vexe no man, for envie dependeth  
vpon wrath. Securite and licence of sinne followeth excessive indulgence: I  
and I am perswaded that no man which is truely valiant, can truely be said en-  
uious though most of them are emulous:

Patience which is a vertue, fencing and preparing a souldiers mind against  
all wounds inflicted in fight, teacheth a Generall, and all sorts of souldiers,  
how to strengthen, exercise, and encourage themselues in all commendable  
hardnesse & difficulties; as noble *Cato* of Utica did in Africke instruct his soul-  
diers, how to beare themselues amongst a swarne of mortall stings, & how to  
suffer heat, hunger, & thirst, sickenesse: for this vertue fenceth and prepareth his  
mind against all wounds inflicted in fight: and *Quintus Fabius* likewise whom  
I mentioned in my second booke. That Generall therefore which is verely K  
valiant, will in the effusion and smoking current of his owne blood (that  
from him washeth away all spots of shame and deformities) fight most eager-  
ly, considering that his most grace and highest commendation in conflict is to  
stand stedfast foote to foote, without giuing any ground, or turning his face  
away from the aduersarie, vnlesse good aduantages and opportunities require  
the

**A** the same. He likewise that can with most ingenious fortitude discouer, auyod, and turne, the fallacies, engines, and mischieves of his enemies vpon their owne heads: and he semblably who being wounded, rewounded, and surrewounded vpon the face, will not shrinke nor yeeld himselfe, but holding a secret combat betwixt dolor and glory fighteth in blood, sweate, and dust vnto the last spiracle of his life, not doubling his body, nor faintly staggering vnder the weight of his enemies arme, neither touching the ground during the combat with hands or knees. It is likewise honorably noted in the combattant that shall wound his foes vpon their heads, foreheads, or other nobler members: which obseruations *Vegetius* specially requireth in the fanteries:

**B** if therefore this be considered, *Vt si foriem animū gerant, quantoque sibi in prælio minus pepercissent tanto ruitores fore*: that they beare a valiant spirit, and that they shall better and more safely defend their bodies and honours, by how much more earnest and lesse sparing they be of themselues: then will this noble vertue of patience and true fortitude, victoriously flourish in the hearts of all good souldiers. This vertue doth (as *Cicero* defineth) consist in suffering continuall and voluntarie toyle, and hardnesse vpon honest profitable termes, which is a firme and constant toleration of humane affaires, when with a mind and spirit vnbroken, we beare all calamities which may happen: this long sufferance of griefe and trauaile must be grounded vpon some honest cause: for if vnder the reuerend and demure roabes thereof, hatred, wealth

**C** or honour, being riotous and ruffionlike companious be concealed, then is it not any branch of fortitude, but the extreamitie thereof, importing a sauage and reasonlesse hardinesse. Patience consisteth in suffering iniuries, and in cheerefull bearing all the crosses of fortune; herein is the Prouerbe compleat, that *Patience is victorie*: for in repressing his owne affection, a man both subdueth himselfe and his aduersarie; whereas in contrary being subiected and made a vassall vnto the scourge of his owne appetites, he wittully submitteth himselfe to that brutish yoake, being prouoked by wrath and desire: onely let vs neglect wrong, and it is easily vanquished leauing vengeance to the benefit of time, and to the powerfull iudgement of the great iudge and as

**D** venger. For according to blessed *Paul*, *In hauing patience we doe the will of God, by which we receive the promise of saluation*. And *Salomon* that oracle of wisedome, confirming it in a parable, or wise concealed sentence, saith, *That he which is slow to wrath, is better then the mighty man, and he that ruleth the mind* *Prov. 16.* *exceedeth a conqueror of cities*.

Moreouer God himselfe, when he descended in a cloud to *Moses*, proclaimed his mercie manifested in patience, when he cryed before his face. *The Lord, the Lord is strong, mercifull, and gracious, slow to anger, and full of goodnesse* *Exod. 34.*

**E** *and truely, restraining mercie for thousands; forgiving sinne and iniquitie*. And thence is it that holy *Paul* calleth him the *God of patience and consolation*, which ensueth it, admonishing the *Theſſalonians* in another place *to be patient to-wards all sorts of men*. Patience therefore being a principall member of fortitude giueth vs a conquest and possession of our owne soules in peace, and comfort: pouertie, exile, losſe of parents, friendes, children, sorrow, reproch,

contempt, seruitude, grieuous sicknesse, blindnesse with all the miserable defects and mischieves of nature and fortune (if a man ponder that his life is by course of mortalitie full of vexation and heauinesse) are nothing; and therefore iust honor inviteth him to combate or wrestle willingly with all calamities, that he may purchase a glorious and renouned victorie ouer them, rather then like a foolish coward wilfully to trust himselfe without courageous resistance into the iawes of ineuitable troubles, as by some dastardly mancipation of himselfe: that though he be broken by it, yet it may be said that he was not subdued, but as it were voluntarily sacrificed vnto it: for no man is said to feele griefe but he that complaineth of it. Then that in desperate causes as in respect of pouertie, disgrace, captiuicte, or in amorous passion, should kill or cast away themselues (for such persons *Aristotle* termeth effeminate) I cannot hold to be verely valiant; whereas it is the part of true valor to beare in equall ballance of minde mischiefe, and prosperitie; a sure token of cowardize and idlenesse also, to distrust, faint, or filthily to be deieected in troubles. Impaciencie (which is the softnesse of a minde e chewing labour, and the tolleration of dolor) opposeth it: such as are afraid to take paines and to be grieved (thinking sorrowes vnsufferable, which patience teacheth vs to tollerate) are in this opposition: and such likewise as cannot beare honours and prosperitie with moderation (but become insolent without measure) are in as much fault or more.

Perseuerance likewise is another branch of fortitude, being a constant, perpetuall, and considerate apprehension of reason conuersing in the former perfections, repressing their contraries, and yoaking them to discretion: for without constancie & equabilitie (which is the geometrical proportion, from the centre to the iust circumference of fortitude) no man can be called truely valiant. Lenitie with a giddy disposition of humane affaires withstandeth it: this either through effeminacie doth vnauidisely yeeld it selfe prisoner to troubles, and cannot indure the burthen of them; or with pertinacitie (when reason ought to change it) doth arrogantly and contumaciously persist in a friuolous opinion: and so much for the morall knowledge of Chieftaines, fit for euery worthy souldior to learne and exercise.

*Cæsar* extolleth this noble gift of perseuerance in a souldior, whereas in contrary, the coward and he which forsaketh his colours is punished with death. Also mutuall loue and charitie should be dispersed amongst them, so that as they partake in paines and passion they should likewise perseuer, declaring themselues companions in consolation; according to the saying of blessed *Paul*. Militarie charitie dependeth vpon two speciall points; vpon the ayding and secondeing of our fellow-souldiers in extremities, and vpon constant perseuerance in maintenance thereof, when truth and equitie stande with their quarrels.

There be certaine of the liberall Sciences likewise most needfull, towards the knowledge of all martiall Gouernours: namely, the studies of Arithmetick and Geometrie. The first intreateth of discreet numbers, and quantities very behooffull for a Captaine; and so requisite, as no merchants or treasurers

*Cæs lib. 8. contra  
belli Gallie.  
G. Bened. in rep.*

*Corinth. 1.*

*Lucas de Penna  
in L. fortissimi  
col. prim.*

F

G

H

I

K

of

A of Princes can in their places haue more vse of supputation then this required in a martiall Leader. It is that art which *Pithagoras* (more then all other Philosophers) wondered at so much, placing it in the minde of the mightiest God, when he fitteth himselfe first to the structure of those miraculous and incomprehensible works in the creation of heauen and earth: he did verily beleue and confirmed men in that his opinion; how all creatures were made of numbers, shewing many strange things by mysticall and hidden arts, which consisted vpon the accrescence and decrescence of numbers. Our fathers thought that, onely man (all other creatures excepted) was capable of number, for that he was wisest of all. This art consisteth in conference of partie with imparitie, in even and odde, the numbers either equall or vnequall together, or equall by separation, also superfluous diminished and perfect. And so much least I be too tedious, seruing for the most present and perfect instruction of battels, by addition, substraction, and diminution of souldiors for seuerall formes: how many drawne out of thus many rankes in fyle of a square battell of 2000. will by proportion fashion a crescent: how many superadded to that battell again wil make a Cilinder; every battell answering to the most aduantage against his enemies battels, as they shal be skilfully formed and instructed vpon the sondaine for all aduantages. But hereof I speake somewhat in my second Booke; referring my selfe with the rest to *Livy, Caesar, Thucydides, Polibius, Plutarch, Euclides, Vegetius, Frontinus*, with such others as learnedly can explaine and discourse of these with sound iudgement, and better experience more at large.

B Geometrie likewise ordereth and proportioneth formes, bodyes, and their dimensions by discreet lines: out of lines, the superficies or outward faces; and from thē these bodies which are called cubes. This art by measuring of heauen and earth, leaueth nothing vnsearched which humane reason can apprehend in that facultie: to this art are referred all linearie demonstrations, the coherence or knitting together of elements, whether trianguler, quadranguler, multanguler, or aspiring in piramidall fashion. Hence was it that the Egyptians did reverence as diuine idols, the formes of Cubes and Circles, in their superstitious ceremonies performed to those profane gods *Osiris* and *Isis*. Moreouer *Plato* caused this inscription to be set vpon the gate of that Academie where he professed: that, *No man ignorant of Geometrie should enter there-in*. And in all the best and ancientest Schooles of the Greekes and Romanes the nobler sort of youth and children after their first milke weare studiously taught in the science of Arithmetike and Geometrie, by which the learned fathers of former ages did illustrate and giue light to all most difficult obscurities and hidden reasons of causes: for by considering how this art doth from a point or centre being indivisible, extend and draw foorth lines circumferent, bowing, iacent, perpendiculer, oblique, and equall in angles; narrow, large, trilaterall, quadrilaterall, multilaterall, and in them equilaterall: right angles, blunt angles, sharpe angles, and such as extend more on one side then from another, with *Rhombus, Rhomboides, Piramides, Spheres*, and other strange formes in diuers analogies. They did finde how needfully this art ser-

ved in fit proportion of harmonie, forvning, fashioning and ordering of all sorts of battels, squares, squadrons, wings, cornets and such like, as in rearing, deuising, working, measuring, digging and fashioning bulwarkes, engines, vnderminings, trenches, ditches: likewise for the rayling, leuelling and squaring of rampiers, raelings, casaines, and other necessarie plats and defences against enemies, with all sort of Instruments and engins appertaining warre which are infinite, being so behooffull for the knowledge of a Generall, as without it I doubt whether warre may bee called an art: for it equalleth such members as are like in proportion & harmonious consent with members vnlike, making a concord out of discordes. But least (I search too faire into the concealed treasure of hidden Phylosophy, wherein I might either vnhappily shewe some token of arrogancie, or rather of hieroglyphicall mysteries, and other rare apprehensions of sage Phylosophers, exceeding the precincts of my weake reason & capacitie, wronging some sciences of which I cannot skill) here will I set vp my rest vnder pardon: onely this (which many wise and well experienced souldiors, and others of sound wisedome approue) it should be required in a Generall to be so studious in these professions, that by much practise and paines he may devise new formes of embattailing, fighting, escairmouching, strange kindes of curious retiring, and vnxpected means of distressing his enemies by noble stratagems newly stamped, & never heard of before. And albeit (according to *Clitarchus*) audaciousnesse is an excesse beyond the measure of humane strength and reason, yet he which prudently respecteth his owne ende, will vpon honorable grounds voluntarily pursue perils, as I said before.

If therefore the Generall would haue his souldiors ambitious of honour, and victorie, he must worke out their resolution, and with vertuous example in himselfe apparent encourage their actions. For if he will industriously consider, and declare his true force (which is in most high reputation fixed) he shall finde it very possible for him to infuse power sufficient to his soldiers, for performance of any reasonable action in their charge, workeing first confidence in them, which onely proceedeth from good militarie discipline: let him therfore with great grace and wisedome endeavour to make his name and honor, reuerende, and precious throughout his whole armies, which he shall purchase as (I say before) by mingling of charitie with discipline: as in taking care that he surbate not his footemen with long and grieuous hard marches, for somuch as warriors of best iudgement and experience haue always esteemed them more seruiceable then the horse: which hath beene found a well amongst the battels of the Greckes and Romanes, as in ours of these latter times in Christendome: for vpon vrgent causes it may bee that by fast troupes and marches or with long fight and escairmouches they may become wearie: whereupon it will be most conuenient to relieue them with the horses of those Caualliers that ride, the whiles they for their more ease in contrary refresh themselves with marching on foote in their places interchangeably as the Romanes *Ad lacum regillum*, did in their warres against the *Lazines*, and by that means attayned victorie: for the footmen are apt and readie for

A for any strait or sinuous place into which their horses cannot haue passage: they can also stretch forth and straite their ranckes, which vpon a necessarie they can breake againe, reducing themselves into forme and order forthwith as place and space shall serue them: whereas horsemen being once broken remaine long confused. And as there is a difference in comparison of men valiant and well disciplined with weake and faint hearted souldiers, so likewise fareth it amongst horses, some full of stomach and courage, others reaste, dull and stubborne: but the souldiers being all of them participant, or capable of reason may be brought into forme, and kept in order when horses cannot, for diuers inconueniences impending. Also cowards may ride vpon bold and seruiciable horses: whereas men of valour vnhappelie may bee mounted vpon iades; and this is daungerous: for by such meanes he which is well mounted, may draw backe in feare, and he which would aduance forth and declare some heroicall tokens of his princely spirit and courage cannot possibly stire vp courage in his iade: then which at such a time I would not wish a more heart-breaking plague to my valiant enemie. *Lucullus* with a small battell of foote ouerthrew 40000. horsemen of *Tigranes*; whereof diuers were cataphracts, which as me seemeth happened more by default of the beasts, then of the riders, though both miscarried: and yet want of skill and iudgement in the rider is the next fault (in my iudgement) to cowardice. The fauleries thereof being in principal place of seruice are to be cheerefully cherished and disciplined aboue others.

B There is also required in the Generall, one speciall point towards the corroboration of his souldiers hearts. First to shew religion in the obseruing and performing articles and promises: secondly that vpon the point of seruice he declare vnto his souldiers in honest and familiar wordes of comfort, the readiest and easiest meanes of victorie, wherein it behoueth him to conceale all impediments; or (if they be pregnant) then to extenuate them by some cheerefull and ingeniou excuse, which hath in it a strong taste of a true fortitude. These with some other heads, such as before and after are expressed (as occasion offereth) will generally renowne the Generall, and further the victorie.

C There are some souldiers which haue a vertuous boldnesse and ferocitie mixt with martiall instruction and feueritie, from which skill and perfection that fiercenesse and confidence in the souldier is vttered: the like was in those ancient Romane armies, when they by such auspicious meanes, came home vnder their victorious ensignes, alwayes loaden with rich spoyles & triumphs. There is another kind of extreame ferocitie brazed with boldnesse, void of all skilfull discipline in war, & such in that age of the Romane Monarchie *Cesar* with *Tacitus* and *Linie* haue noted in the nature & battells of the Galles, being merely foolish and vnprofitable. The third sort is of those which are not possessed either of order, discipline, or authority; of that kinde are those Indians at this day, which answere in subiection to the King of Castille: for it were impossible that armies of such catiue condition (vnlesse their enemies turne face without cause) should euer beare away victorie.

D This weakenesse in souldiers proceedeth from pusillanimitie, being a base abiection

abiection of the mind, or a foolish and tame deselction of the will in flying P from honourable courses and attempts ; but of this I will speake more at large, intreating of militarie discipline, which specially proceedeth from the prudence and true force of a Generall, and is peculiar to men indeede subtilting and composed of reason intirely ; by vertue whereof Lions and Elephants are tamed and fettered in the wildernes, which brideth & abareth the fierie strokemaches of stubborne hores, which measureth the the circumference of heauen and earth with their orbes. Such a force best befitteth *Hercules*, and in this force are humane labours nourished. This teacheth a Generall what the state and condition of his enenies, and how to catch them : which *Epaminondas* the Thebanc reputed the greatest honour in a captaine, by winning G prenotion of the deliberations, counsels and resolutions of aduersaries, and being most hard and difficult, requireth deepe judgement with high wisedome in him that beareth it : and not of their counsels onely, but of their actions also which fathome deepe into the apprehension of reason ; considering it did many times happen that in a battell which hath continued a great part of the night, the victor thought himselfe vanquished, and he that was defeated misdeemed that he was conquerour : whereupon counsels infused most pernicious to them that consulted, as it happened vnto *Brutus* & *Cassius* in the like case ; these did not looke vnto th'event of their battell before it came to H triall : for *Cassius* misconceiuing that *Brutus* had beene ouerthrowne, and put to flight with his whole regiment (who then was vndoubtedly sure of victorie) desperately broached his breast vpon his owne sword. By the inestimable benefit of this reason, which deepe groundeth it selfe in knowledge and continuall search of hidden treasures, the Generall becommeth iust, skilfull and industrious : in it are rooted all his present resolutions which happen vpon extremities during the fight, and seasoned with that good fortune, with that prudent and quicke apprehension, which like the sudden flash of a lightning, not so quicke as diuine giueth a tweete fire to the true touch of his reason ; when mature deliberations want space of admittance, and onely fortuate executions are importuned and instantly. I

From this florisheth out his diligence, patience, prudence, mildnesse, sterenesse, subtiltie, simplicitie, warinesse, promptnesse, liberalitie, with many more branches of true vertue springing together, out of that one most bountifull roote. This also teacheth him his knowledge concerning the iistructions of battels of all fashions ; for euen as stones, tiles, beames, and rafters of woode are by good order and disposition of the workeman, knit, confirmed and kept from putrifaction, in such case are armies. By this is he taught boldnesse against enenies, fauour towards friendes, and reason with counsell in opportunitie. This maketh a wise Captaine to meditate with *Philopoemon* K Prince of the *Acheans*, who did exercise himselfe in warlike practise, specially when nothing but peace was present and round about him. And this caused *Ephicrates* to raise a rampier composed with a vaste moate, when no daunger or enemie could be feared, saying that it was a disgracefull thing in a Generall (when neede should suddenly require a defence) to say, these accidents

A dents which are, were not premeditated.

But amongst all noble exercises in times peaceable (of most profit, pleasure, and honour, and seemely befitting a prince) the knowledge of places and countries is most requisite, which cheifly and most readily is got by practise of hunting: for in following of the wilde bore, the stagge, the foxe, the hare and such like beasts of game, certaine martiall accidents are resembled in many things, according as *Xenophon* in the life of *Cyrus* (at that time when hee should hauel enied forces against the king of *Armenia*) describeth him, reasoning and arguing with his companions of that seruice which hee was to performe, and of all things accommodated thereunto; by resembling of them which take refuge vpon the mountaines, to those that pitched toyles & snares for wilde beastes, comparing them that eskairmouched vpon the plaines, with those which rouzed the game from their dennes or formes, driuing them vnto those nets, & with such like resemblance of that partie. Besides, that the perfect knowledge of countries, fennes, marshes, and riuers, for marching, incamping, wading, fortifying, imbatelling, and such like by such practise of hunting, shall be with sport and in short time attained: also the benefit happening to their bodies in confirming of their strength and health which vse it. For by this countries Topographie, a perfitt knowledge and discretion (of the nature, condition and soyle of other countries) is attained with facilitie: for all regions haue some resemblance one of another. In such sort *Salust* (writing somewhat concerning the exercise which *Iugurth* did vse) commendeth him after a fashion for his exercise of hunting in these words; *Non se luxui neque in-ertia & corrumpendū dedit sed (utim⁹ genus illius est) equitare, iaculari, cursu cum a-qualibus certare: & cum omnes gloria antecelleret omnibus tamen charus esse.* *Ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut im-primis ferire, plurimum facere, & minimum ipse de se loqui:* He did not giue himselfe ouer to be corrupted with lust or sluggishnesse, but as the fashion is of that countrie, to ride, to shoote, to runne in race with his equals, and albeit he did exceed all of them in glorie, yet every one of them did loue him.

D Moreouer he bestowed much time in hunting, he would be the first man or the surest man which gored, wounded, or paunched the Lion and other wild beasts: his fashione was to do very much, & to make small brags of it. In which generous exercise & recreation of hunting, your highnesse (soone after your first milke in the tendernesse of your gracious spring) industriously & to great good end delighted hauing proposed it as a recreation destinated to most noble and heroicall purposes, when time and occasion should summon your migh-tinessse, to make specious demonstration thereof. And that care and wisedome is exceeding great, which answereth to the choosing of a Generall; as well for his reason, experience, and valour, as for his bodilie strength and agilitie: for that cause the people of Rome (hauing deciced by the consent of the Senate, to moue warre against any Nation) made choise of their Generals and Dictators out of the prudentest Consuls: vnto whom they graunted a large Commission to deale in all causes (concerning the seruice in their trust) according to their sound discretions. And verely (whereas both the life and

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honor of peace and warre resteth in his person) the wise judgement of a Prince (as I think) cannot bee so certainly in substitution and deputation of any vicegerent or seruaunt whatsoeuer, as in the prudent election of a Generall. For certainlye those noble parts and perfections (which are needfully required in him) stand in more force and valour of all inferieur soldiers vnder him: as *Philip* great *Alexanders* father said, *That a barrell of Lyons which were governed by a Stagge, could not be so good as an heast of stagges under the conduct of a Lyon*: for of Cowards (hauing able bodies) a gallant Generall may with some conuenient paines and good discipline make victorious warriours; as *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* did of the *Thebanes*, by whom they were enfranchised from the *Spartans*; and albeit in regard of their long slauerie some deemed them vnsit for militarie seruice, yet did these Captaines so labour in disciplyning of them, as they did proue soone after able, and vanquishers ouer them, that so tyrranized ouer them before. In honour of which nation, and vpon their good successe it was written, how not onely the *Lacedemonians* but euen all other sorts of people would become gallant fellowes and victorious through good martiall instruction & practise, which ought to proceed at all times both in peace and warre. For men which are skilfull in the practise and exercize of *Armes*, will not stand in awe of their enemies, because no man feareth to doe that, wherein he knoweth himselfe skilfully practized.

*It is also common in nature, that in laudable qualities (especially where multitudes may be witnesses of their excellent readinesse and resolution) men loftily will performe the parts of their cunning with great hope, whereas the rude and vnexercised souldior is like a sheepe exposed to slaughter.* Hence is it that *Vegetius* sayeth, that vse in warre auaileth more then strength and armour. The speciall companions of martiall discipline and vertue which administer honor and reputation to Captaines and souldiers, are labours in busynesse, fortitude in perils, temperance in desires, industrie in doing, celerite in dispatching, counsell in prouiding. The greatest benefit in a Generall towards the performance hereof is in time of peace, as fitting and preparing himselfe for warre when there is no danger, and in tempestuous times also, to seeme and beare himselfe vnto such souldiors (if wanis and negligence require it) like an enemie when he disciplineth, and with his enemis in contrary to dissemble himself a friend. *Menander*, that he which is not experienced in militarie discipline having command of armes doth bring foorth thousands of men for a sacrifice to their enemies: it therefore the souldiors bee negligent, idle, or vnexperienced in their seruice and vse of weapons, or in keeping of their rankes, marches, or formes, discipline is required with competent seueritie, as well towards inferior Captaines in their priuate transgressions, by affir- ring them of their charge (which is to some noble spirits much more great disgrace, then the paine of death) driuing them to the priuate souldiors march on foote, vntill such time as they by their seruice and industrie (which they should very well know before they be chosen to gouerne) haue practised how to remerite in a common soldiers place, the reputation of a captaine, recover- ing

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Aing and reforming that losse and omission: and if they be slack in discipline towards their souldiors which serue vnder their colours and ensignes (when duetie bindeth that they shoulde instruct) yet if it so happe that soone of those Captaunes, or others of greatest place in the field, haue in monitions and perwasions beene milde and gentle before, and that such lenitie cannot pre-vaile: then is it not expedient that he growe seuerē vpon the sodaine, least his purpose of extremitie be discouered, and the stubborne heartes of his field-men become mutinous; but by little and little with wary gradation and vpon sure occasion conceale his purpose, vntill time bring to perfection his defence, before offence bee done: which is by conciliation of the more

B part out of the best, and those of the more conformable sort, so neere as may be found, or taken with courteous encouragement and wily familiaritie, winnē some with benefits, & others with the right gylt of beneuolence & lenitie; pretending towards the benefited his great respect vnto their dueties and diligence declared: which course (being well entred) openeth safely the se-  
cure path of seueritie cōcerning others: but let him beware in any case that he doe not negle& this; as in sodaine changing his mildnesse into seueritie, for it will indanger his confusione when he wanteth ayde and countenance of some their better fellowes in his discipline to keepe them if occasion require. And in all his apport amongst the souldiers of his ensignes that austere kinde of fa-  
cilitie should appearē in him: that like as of the noble Romane *Galba*, so spee-  
ches & Prouerbs may passe currāt of him in those armes where he gouerneth

*Disce milis are miles, Galba est, non Gerulicus*: which kinde of austereitie was no small honor to the noble *Anniball*, in exercising & instructing of his soldiers: whom *Liuy* discibeth the worthy patterne of a right renouned Generall, to this effect. *Anniball serued under Asdruball in the warres three yeeres, and there liued not a man whom Asdruball so much desired, for his worshio to beare command under him in mariall affaires, if any shing valorous & of force was to be put in execusion: neither would the souldiers of his armes credite any man so soone, or shewe such excellēt courage under any Captaine, as as his command. He was very bold in*

D *giving charge upon perils, very wise, and full of reaching consulsation if he were distresed, in danger most patiens and indefatigable, contemning paines and travails, of courage undaunced, carelesse of extreame heate or cold, temperase in diet, moderate in sleepe, vigilans and vsing his body to lode hardly, many times hath he beeene found laid upon the cold ground couered with his manse, which he did vsually weare amongst his watches and Centrenells, or as his corps du gard. In any seruice upon horseback, or foot, he was the first that gaue charge, and last that leſt the field: yet as there are not any vertues of such excellētis but are accompaniēt with some vices, so was he posſeſſed of some souldier-like faultes. Thus farre in effect *Liuy*, wherein behold the true description of a right carefull and noble Generall seruing for a copie to the best Captaunes that euer did or shall succeed him. I will adde hereunto, because it is memorable one example of discipline in a Gene-  
all, which *Liuy* likewise recordeth.*

*Titus Manlius being Consull, and Lieutenant Generall of the Romane forces against the Latines, when his owne sonne had aduaunced forth (albe-*

it vpon most honourable termes) in singel duell to combat with a daring Latine, whom hee most valorously vanquished, vpon which combat the victories of either armes for safegard of their souldiers liues were mutually wagered; yet for breaking of his ranke to set forward to performe the challenge, and because he did not first aske leave of the Consull, contrarie to q the prescribed ancient forme of the Romane discipline, in the presence of the noble armie caused his head exemplarily to be strooke off; at euere or violent reward of his honour: and *Darius* the other Consull according to the religiōis custome of the Roffians in some extreamities obserued, after the performance of certain ceremonies which may be read in *Livy*, did (by rushing alone) G on horsebacke at the full spedde with all violence amongst the Latines a good space before the battell ioyned voluntarily sacrifice himselfe to the infernals, for the whole armes safetie: the Latines were in such sort appalled, and his fellow souldiers encouraged at this his so confident and noble resolution, that they became lordes of the field thereupon: I will hereunto knit one other example,

*Papirius* the Dictator gaue expresse commandement against *Fabius Ruilius* General of the Romane horse (who with good successe and great valour had encountrē, and ouerthrowne diuers troupes of the enemies) to be beaten with rods; a strange and ignominious punishment worse then death, denounced against so noble a souldier, onely because he tooke not aduise and direction of the great magistrate, wher, where, and in what sort to give charges: howbeit *Ruilius* seeking to stop the shame of that punishment, by secret meanes escaped to Rome, whom the vehement dictator pursued in such furie, that (vntill not onely *Ruilius* had vpon both his knees besought pardon for the same, and that the whole Senate and people of Rome had inexorably mediated for him) the seuere Dictator could not be mooued to repeale the sentence and execution, but would haue had his head cut off also.

Another kinde of discipline is semblably requisite against capitaines and fellowes in armes which is for a certaine vaine stubbornnesse and proud emulation in them being very daungerous to the present state and service in hand: this ought with great care & seueritie to be searched and reformed, by the example of *Sergius* and *Verginius*, when they did assiege the Veyans; *Sergius* holding his quarter vpon one side of the citie, and *Verginius* vpon the other, it happened that *Sergius* (vpon some aduantage found) was suddenly charged by the Phaliscians, taking in high scorne, though his forces were much weaker to require aide of *Verginius*, hereupon being forced to flie with disgrace (though he inight with very good ease haue rescued and repaired his honor) yet would not *Verginius* succour him, vntesse *Sergius* had first humbly required and sued vnto him for it, which fault few wise princes or Generals, but would haue punished with death: howbeit the Senate (which sustained the most losse) onely fined them with a pecuniary mulct, prudently foreseeing, that such as had armes in charge, ought to be enfranchised from all feare, and to draw the counsels of all their actions from the principals and heads of occasions.

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A. Having partly touchid the discipline concerning capaines and souldiers, it were requisite that I declared the forme of disposing, arraying and commanding battelling souldiers, but forasmuch as no like my knowledge in that law is so sure as I dare aduentur me vpon it, neither wil I could, would it be needfull considering every priuate capaines studies, and at that art, which I by mistaking thought in a partie, might worthily be reprehended of arrogant folly, I will hereinforbeare, onely wishing a carefull ingenious and industrious practise of that skill in every priuate capaine and able gentleman of honour, as well in times of peace as of warr: and because I haue heard it somtimes commended by certaine wise & expert souldiers, as the sure ground and true plant of all excellent ciuitall arte, I will set downe according to *Livius* the true forme of the Romane hostis as they were ordered for present fight, and diuided into battells. The first was composed of gallant Romane youties in space of rancks and files indifferently distant, and armed with pikes: the second battell equall and like the first, sauing that the spaces betwix them in rancks and files were more large; these men were of ripe age and for the strength, whom they called principals: the third and last battell in the heire, contained so many men as both the former, consisting of well approued veterans and tried souldiers, whom they called *Triarij*; these likewise tooke larger space in rancks and files, then either the first or second, being so fashioned, that one battelle might for more strength and aduantage draw it selfe into another, when oddes or any necessarie did constraine, without disorder or confusion: to each of which three battells were assigned certaine cornets of horse, which like winges guarded the right and left flancke of each battell; onely the first battell of pikes standing nearer then the rest in rancks and files (as our battells of forclorne hope at this day) were so perfectly taught and instructed, that they might the better endure the first brunt or charge when it should come to their turne for fight; the second battell of those principals and strong men which followed, being larger in space to receiue the pikes vpon occasion by retire, and the *Triarij* so large as would admit them both vpon necessarie to their ranckes without confusion: but when the *Triarij* haue both receiued the pikes and principals into their battells, then they forthwith close their ranckes and with moste resolute and victorious courage endure and surrechardge vpon their enemies in a terrible fashion, which finding a new battell stronger and more puissant then both the first (uniting them that were driuen backe) are frustrated of all hope and courage. And this in my iudgement must of necessarie be both sure and honourable, when the whole force is not ventured at the first, but hath meanes (if neede require) left for a succour when two charges are already pasted.

B. Now for asmuch as it behoueth to reason a little of martiall stratagems seruing for campes or any place fortified, I will take occasion in this place to discourse somewhat. Subtilties though in priuate actions they be detestable, yet are in militarie seruices very commendable, and commonly more worthied then open force is against enemies: howbeit fraud in the violation of faith or breach of conditions (amongst men in armes) is excepted. For these dis-

honesties, may percase augment Empire with assured losse of honour which F more precious. The subtilties of which I speake, are the substance of stratagems by subduing of professed enemies, and by diffidence had of their opposites: such (as for instance) *Anniball ad lacum Perusinum* vsed by turning face from the Romanes his enemies, that the Consull and his host by pursue, might be brought into places full of danger. And hereupon note by the way, that if thine aduersarie turne his backe towards you, pursue not in further heat and greedinesse of victorie, but rather according to the Proverbe, *Make him a silver bridge to be gone*: least being constrained to fight vpon necessarie they become desperate, of which there is infinite example of diuers being pursued after the fight, which haue vpon that example finished in much effusion of blood, and victoriouse conquest had of them that followed. Souldiors therefore should neither be too slowe nor hasty, but keepe a prudent moderation; which temperature will guide them to many fortunate aduantages and executions: least that be verified vpon them which *John Basilides* the Rusian Tyrant spake of the *Moscouites* and *Polonians*: that these were too forward, and those ouer backward, which hee by long experience found in his armes.

Another excellent example of lawfull stratagem in the Captaine *Annibal* to secure himselfe and his armes is recorded, by tying matches and firebrands H to the horns of cattell driving them by night a contrary way, to misguide his enemies, that in the meane while he might prouide for the safe allodgement of his owne forces. The like commendable kinde of stratagem, *Cymon* a Captaine of the Athenians (which both *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus Siculus* record) put in practise, he perceiuing that the Persian fleet houered too and againe neere the Coast of Cyprus, with 250. ships of his Nauie, gaue fight to 340. of the aduersarie; of which hee through his good successe and valour grappled 100. the rest being sore shattered and broken in fight recovered Cyprus, which glad of such harbor left their ships vnarmed, marching a certaine of leagues into the land a foote. Hereupon *Cymon* possessed himselfe of the whole remainder of the Persian fleet, furnishing diuers of those his enemies shippes with souldiors drawne out of his owne: and vpon the riuier *Eseribas* where his enemies were incamped brought in the Nauie, his souldiors being attyred in Persian habit with sur-coates and turribants found aboard them: their enemies by this meanes mistaking the Athenians for their owne soldiers, & knowing the fleet, supposed them to be returned which had lately losed anchor from them before, & so with quietnes gaue them leaue to come in with their fleet into the Hauens mouth. *Cymon* therfore at the dead time of night, landing himselfe with his soldiers in that falsoed habit, slewe them all which met him, and made spoyle of his enemies Tents; giuing to *Pheridas* K the Persian Generall a mortall camifado, besides the losse of his and many more Persian lives, with a bloody destruction and hauocke of others; so that such error and horror was amongst the Persians in this dead darke season, that they knew not what nation it was which did inuade them. So terrible and sondaine a charge went beyond their present reason. Likewise amongst the *Atheni-*

*Plutarch*  
*Cimo.*  
*Diodo. lib. 11.*

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**A** Athenians with such another cunning aduantage, *Clearchus* surprised *Bizantium*. Diuers matriall flights are recorded of *Ponius* Captaine of the *Sannites*, *Portius Cato*, *Miltiades*, *Themistocles*, and others ( of which *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* make mention ) but these shall suffice for copie.

There is yet another adiunct of wylinesse sometimes vied in warrie, which resteth in taking occasion vpon good aduantages to fight with confederates, and then the meane to worke it, is quarrelling or matrially mouing against some other friend being with his confederate in confederacie; so that he must be forced in honesty to partake and breake truce with him that cunningly seeketh it, he giuing the first signall to Battell, or declare himselfe false or perfidious towardses his friend and Client. Also there is a certaine oblique prudence (if a man may so terme it) of another nature, yet not vnlke the former after the example of the *Campanians*; which (sithence their exceeding weaknes would not otherwise admit, but that they must necessarily fall into the danger of those enemies vpon whom they breathed defiance) presently put themselves into the protection of some mightie prince of more force, to defend them and their liberties; and this rule is generally certaine that such people ( as stand in feare of oppression or tiranny, by some great Prince) will offer & send voluntary succors with any comfort to the best of their power, to some other more puissant prince, which may when good time shal serue collaterally protect and assist them in their extremities against all violence and oppression of others :

**C** as may be read in the Romane Hystories of the *Massilians*, *Rhodians*, *Hiero* king of *Siracuse*, *Massinissa*, *Eumenes* with others, which had in the same case aided the Romanes in their warres. And as in our late English expeditions Anno 1596. and in Anno 1597. was sent vnto vs by the States of base Germanie vpon our taking of *Cales* accosting *Andalusia*; and towards that seruice intended but vnfourtunately crossed, when our Generals after ominous beginnings reconducted vs to the Islands *Tercare*, where they made very small prooef, and farre short in fathome of their expectation.

What I haue spoken here in particular respecting the office of a Lieutenant generall, may serue for other inferiour Captaines and Officers of warre also:

**D** Yet considering that it were semblably behooffull for me to declare what the places of most reputation are in the field, according to the seruice of our English warres; the brute, and ioyous rebounding honour of which battels haue formerly sounded aloud from their drums & trumpets in the most flourishing parts of Christendome, I will briefly touch them so neare in the sequell as I can gather.

Next vnto the L. Lieutenant Generall, which absolutely representeth and vseth (for the time) the person and dignities of the Prince are these principall

**E** persons of honor, seruing as counsellors and assistants immedieate and vnder his Excellencie.

The first place is assigned to the Lord Marischal; adioyning him the Coronell generall of foote, and he seconded with the Coronell generall of horse; ensuing them the Captaine or Coronell of euery Regiment or battell: after these the Campe-master, next him the master of the Ordinance : successiuely

cessiuelly the Treasurer of the whole host; and lastly the Sergeant maior general in field: these be principals and of counsell to the L. Lieutenant General.

There are Offices also deputing vnto the former, and some others which are not of such speciall reputation: as the Lieutenant to the Coronell of foote, Lieutenant of the Coronell of horse, the Prouost Marischall, the Muster-master generall, the Corporals of foote and horse, the Sergeants maiors of every battell or Regiment, the Scout-master, the Trench-master, the forrage-master, the prouant-master, the captaine of the carriages, & the captaine of the Pyoners; most of which are in office and degree iuperior to private captaines of Companies.

The Lord high Marischalls office (vpon which the whole charge of an Armie dependeth) is very noble, and commonly taketh the second place of honor in the field: it importeth him therefore of necessitie to know through what manner of ground the whole armie must passe; if in Champion, how the wayes open for rancks in companies, or for battells, if in vallyes or lanes, how they be straitned for troupes and confused marches, hauing soundly considered of all meanes which may giue aduantage against the enemie, by marching, incamping, and disposing or ordering of his forces, noting with iudicious and well experienced obseruation all the disabilitiess which his enemies must haue in meeting with him; eskairmouching or giuing present charge vpon his armies, here, there, or in any place in his way with such meanes as may be deuised how to redrefse and recover them from all dangers and disadvantages of land, hill, or riuer in the way, making a safe and sure audite of the best & worst of all which can happen, prouiding remedies against dangers if they chaunce, and redinesse with expedition towards the imbracement of all fortunate occasions. In him likewise is required perfectly to know the extreme force of his Prince for the present, and likewise the power of his enemies, what horse, what foote, what yong, what old instructed souldiers, what leaders of note, experience, and valour, comparing one with another, and working out to the best aduantage, the renowne of his Princes armies, he must also take notice of the strength which his enemies attaine by confederates, how much they make with the mercenaries, and auxiliaries of others: hee should consider and conferre by iudicious reading, the warres and battells of his Princes Progenitors and Predecessors, wherefore they were leuied, how performed and fought, vpon what conditions ordered, and the meanes moving either partie to the taking or offering of those Articles, with such speciall instructions, as I partly noted before in the Lieutenant generall. When therefore he knoweth and is well instructed through what manner of ground the Armie must passe, then he presently giueth notice and warning to the Coronells of horse and foot, in what formes they should order their troupes and battells, for their more present and commodious passage; narrowly respecting that every Commander doe with diligence respect his charge, without intermeddling further in matters beyond his office, or short of it.

Hee therefore causeth first in audience of the whole Armies a proclamation

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A clamation to be made, aduertising what time the Lord Lieutenant Generall purposeth to march forward into the field, that they may fuitably be prepared; and the same day that his excellencie shall set forth, the Lord Marischals trumpet soundeth and giues warning of a remouall; after him all other trumpets follow, that vpon the third flourish, euy captaine, souldier, and seruant may be readie to perorme their offices in each degree for that seruice. The scoutmaster therefore is first set forth to dispose of his scurries for espiall, that he may for the armes more safetie certifie, whether the countrey round about be cleare: after him the master of the Ordinance setteth forward with his Artillerie furnished of all needfull instructions, for the dispatch of any thing which resteth in his charge: after them the treasurer seconded with the prouant master with victuall: and lastly the carriages which by directions of the captaine or master of them take their places in marching. When these offices are thus fitted, and that the Coronels and captaines by their directions haue out of troupes ordered their armes, then the Lord Marischall seeth the footmen march; vpon which there are guides attending to direct them in the sure and readiest way, which guides the Lord Marischall seeth prouided; one to wait vpon the Lord Lieutenant, another vpon the Coronel of foot, another vpon the Coronell of horse: in like case severall guides for the master of the Ordinance, to point out the surest and most conuenient way for the conuayance of his Artillerie: for the master of the carriages one, for the Sergeant major, and for the scoutmaster attending the auauant curriers each of them one. This being orderly disposed, there are (by the Lord Marischals direction to the captaine of the pioners) a certaine number of labourers attending the Ordinance, which may mend the wayes for the better passage thereof. After this the Lord Marischall taketh with him certaine of his horse, and foote to view the ground where the forces shoule lodge or encampe. Likewise the Campemaster, the prouost Marischall, and harbinger with the fourre quartermasters, when he shall come to the place, his foresight is what forage, water, and other needements for the armes are there abouts: and (when this is seene into) the Campe-master, with the prouost marischall quarter out the ground according to the severall regiments, making the middle space within the quarters so large, that the regiments vpon a sudden allarime, may presently meet, and be set in array for the present seruice. The Marischall also noteth what number shall out of every priuat companie walke the round, and keepe centrenell, with the places where they shal abide: he giueth watch word which the clerke of the watch doth write by his direction, deliuering to every counsellor of the field, to the scout-master, and to every priuate captaine a note thereof: if the L. Marischall see cause, he may change the watch-word at his pleasure. Hee declareth his opinion to the Lieutenant vpon any enterprise, what number of horse and foot are competent therefore, that they may be by the Coronels chosen out for the execution of any designe: the the Lord Lieutenant giuing direction who shall haue the generall charge of such seruice. All intelligence brought by the scurries or pyoners taken in espiall or neere the campe, are first brought vnto the Lord high Marischall and by

D d

him

him made knownen vnto the Lord Lieutenant : and (that the Lord Marischall P may be the readier found out) one of his pages beareth before him a coruer of his armes or devise. It resteth in his iudgement, to determine of all prisoners taken ; which are forfeited forthwith vnto him, if they (that surprise them) do not presently present them to his Lordship, which likewise are puniſhed at his discretion : the third part of all booties got, is his by right of that office. He likewise prouideth that the slaughterers of beasts and other easements of the souldiers be not made to the annoyance of the Campe, ſeeing that euery ſouldier pay for his viguals that he taketh, looking that all ſuch prisoners as are committed to the Marischallie be well vſed, punishing quatrelous or mutinous persons, the euil ſouldiers, & treaſons according to the lawes of armes G. In that caſe prouided: which are (by direction from him) faire written in articles, and fixed vpon the Marischallies gate, or on ſome other more conſpicuous place in the campe or quarter, ſo that they may be generally published: From him proceed all proclamations by voyce of Hetauld with a trumpet in the Lord Lieutenant's name. He ſeeth the watches, as captaines, rounders, centrenels, to ſtay their due times, vntill their drums or trumpets diſcharge their watches: he looketh that quietneſſe and silence be kept in the campe, vpon ſetting of the great watch after the warning pece be diſcharged: through him are all honourable and diſhonorablie actions and exploits of perſons (to H their immortall shame or good fame) recorded in perpetuall historie for example: he likewiſe (accompañed with the Coronels, Generall of horſe, and foote, with the master of the Ordinance, and Sergeant maior) vieweth the ground, where moſt aduantage in their diſcreet iudgements may be found, for placing or abiding with their troupes on horſe and foot, and for the moſt auaileable planting of their Artillerie, with ſuch cunning lures as may bring forward the enemis being neere to that place of aduantage. In time of batell he ſerueth on foot with the Sergeant maior: when the campe ſhall moue, his trumpet giueth the ſummons; by notice thereof all other trumpets ſoone after ſound a flouriſh at the L. Lieutenant's lodging to the diſcharge. He likewiſe towards the affieging of any cities or forts appointeth what ſtrength of men and munition, what numbers of horſe & foot are required: for he taketh first a perſeſ view of the place and then prescribeth a forme how to plant the campe with moſt aduantage againſt it, ſetting downe where the trenches muſt be made; hauing acquainted first the Lord Lieutenant therewith. He directeth the campe-maſter in his forme and order of encamping, and what number of campes ſhould bee made in every quarter; inſtructing likewiſe the trench-maſter in the maner, breadth, and depth of his trenches, for the moſt ſafeſtie towards battery by night or otherwiſe: conſidering what flanckes or buttrefſes may conueniently be taken away; and (if they be flanked) where I they may ſooner and ſafeſt approach: what course best ſerueth (in caſe they cannot get entrance by plaine meaneſ) to diſtrefſe their flanckes, by minings, or counterminings, if the ground will ſerue, if not ſo, then by ſcaladoes, or ſtratagems of ſtrange & excellent deuife, with other meaneſ, which haue been, or may be done with moſt commendation, and ſecuritie for ſuſh a purpoſe. K

Beatus

**A** *Bearus Rhenanus* thinketh that *Mariscallus* is called of *Marca*, an old word signifying a horse: *Budeus* calleth them *Marischals, quasi maiores*. Judges sitting on horse-back. The office of Marischals according to *Vincensius Lupanus* is *De mag. Fran. castris locum eligere, ac milites in officio continere, in quos vita & necis potestate habens: To choose a place for lodging of the Armie, to keepe the souldiers in order and office, ouer whose liues and deaths they haue power. The knowledge and persecution of militarie crymes; likewise the doome of punishment of out-lawes, and of such souldiers as without honest and lawfull leaue depart the Campe, and are not present at musters, and times limited vnto them; also the defaults of scoutes, escurriers, espials, traytors, fugitiues, watch breakers, such as forsake the spoyle, sacke, hauocke, with all actions personall* **B** *of souldiers in priuate quarrels, are censured by the Marischal in our warres: *Vinc. Lopen. as in France by the Constable, who hath caryed before him a sword with a *de mag. Fran.* point fashioned like a Lillie.**

**C** *The office of the Coronell generall on foote, dispositeth his Armies by direction from the Lord Leutenant into competent battells according to the grosse number: he directeth the Captaines in their charge, what, and how many long or short weapons in euery Band or Companie they should haue, in what forme & order the armes must march, which the sergeant maior (by direction from him) seeth performed. From him is a scroll sent to the gouernours of euery battell containing their feuerall charges: hee certifieth the remouals of Campes vnto them for the more readinesse of souldiers by the sound of drums or trumpets: all armes (being distributed into Regiments or Battells) are with their Coronels vnder his command. Vpon any seruice he ioyneth in directions with the L. Marischall in choise of the ground: and his place of seruice is in the middest of the battell with the L. Generall. Ouer all our English battells there are Gouernours appointed which are at command vnder the Coronell generall, or his Leutenant. These Gouernours appoint euery captaine to send his Harbenger vnto the Campe-master, to take notice of the place and order of their quartering: or (if in Campe) of their Tent-pitching; declaring where, & how the souldiers should make Cabbines, fore-seeing withall that they doe not hastily nor confusedly come into their quarters, but take their places orderly and ciuilly, being directed by their Harbingers. His Leutenant looketh to the Captaines of the warch, the Rounders, and the Centrenels, to fit themselues to their dueties, by direction from the Lord Marischall. If any foot-spiall be taken by them, him they bring to the L. Marischall, to the Coronell Generall, or to the L. Leutenant himself. The Leutenant Coronell (vpon seruice) taketh place in the vaward with the Sergeant maior. His speciall care (which bindeth him in the same termes with the*

**E** *L. Leutenant generall) is to see, that his souldiers vnder his charge proue not effeminate, impatient of paines and perill, that they shew not more valour in words then weapons, that they spoyle not their owne fellowes in Armes, that they leaue not themselues open for a prae to the enemy without discipline, order, gouernment, & modesties; that they set & keepe their watches like good souldiers after the course of warre, that they neither forsake, nor withdraw them-*

thenselues from their colours without leaue: that the stragglers, boyes,auls, B and slaues attempt not to march or intermingle the bands, troupes, or battels confusedly by night, or day: that the souldiors waste not neare dead down the corne lands, and meadowes, if they may be benefiued thereby: that they be not suffered negligently to draine heards and flocks of cattell, and prisoners before them disorderly, but that they keepe in the reare with the carriages: that they doe not exchange them with merchants & victuallers of the campe for money, to buy bread and wine dayly: that they suffer no shame of sloath and luxurie to dishonor their Armes: there are the speciall meaſures for euery Coronell generall to reforme bad souldiors. Likewise it is his office careful-Gly to prouide skilfull and painfull Chirurgions for his wounded souldiors and hurt men, to reward and give honor to men of worth and deseru in the warres, according to the custome of warre: after the field fought (by com-  
mons of his diuimme maior) to assemble the remainder of his Arme, and there in open assembly with very good tearmes and cheerefull behauour, to giue thankes and commendation to them that had foughht the field, to exhort them that they beare themſelues awyayes of a valiant ſpirit, well affected one towards another, and that the glorie of that dayes ſeruice should maintaine a continuall courage in them, for any battell whensoeuer oportunitie ſhould require; that they ſhould willingly receiue the ſpoyles of their enemies according to the diſcretion and direction of the Lord Lieutenant in all equa-Hlitie; and that he did onely looke for labour in ſteed of his reward.

The Coronell generall of horſe, receiueth from the L. Lieutenant a roll of all the ſerviceable horſe in field. His office is to direct and diſtribute the Lances, light horſes, Argolitiers, piftoliers, carbines, and ſuch like into troupes ordered for battell; he ſignifieth to the Coronel of euery troupe when any remouall is, which after the flouriſh of Trumpets, auance foorth to march when he commandeth; ſuch of them as watch the firſt night, are firſt placed in Campe, or Quarter. It is in him to ſend foorth auant curriers for adver-Itiſements hee placeth a ſtrong troupe of horſe in the reare of all the battels, to ſee there be not stragglers, or carriages left behinde for a praie to the ene- mies; and that thofe his Caualliers diſmount not till the Campe be lodged or quartered. By conſent of the L. Lieutenant hee ſenteth forth what number of the horſe is fit vpon any preſent ſeruice: he ſeeth the ſcoutes foorth before night, the ſcurriers placed in the day time vpon the mountaines, and at night in the valleys for their better ſight at all times: theſe in darke nights (if the wiſde be ſo great that they cannot either heare, or ſee) doe diſmount, and ma- king holes in the ground, liſten if they can heare the beatiing of horſe hoofes; which (if any be neare) they ſhall ſoone perceiue, and vpon notice doe giue warning to the foote Centrenels, which with allarme giuen to the Campe, ſet all in readinesſe. His Lieutenant's office is to take care, how all ſuch as are Kdeſtined to watch, giue attendance vnto the L. Marischall, or to his prouof for diſcretiōs. He ſeeth in the morning that no man leaue his watch vpon paine of death before the ſcurriers be returned to the Campe, & receiued their pla- ces. In time of battell he prouideth to anſwer troupe for troupe of the ene- mies, and

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**A**nd to fit himselfe by proportion against them all, and if percase his power be to weake, then doth he succour his horses by wood, strait, hill, water, or neighbouring villages, for his more reliefe and refuge. He determineth what number shall giue charge vpon the enemtie; where, and how many soldiers to place in time of need for their rescue. Every Coronell doth (as he willeth) attend the Campe-master, for his quarter, and for decent and orderly comming thereto: his place is vpon seruice in front to the pikes of his chiefe battell.

**B** The Campe-master receiueth a roule of the whole armes horse and foot: and by the L. Marischals consent prouideth & limiteth the Campe according to the multitude, deuiding the ground into so many regiments or battells of foot and horse, as is requisite, betwixt euery battell making a large street or space of 80. feet breadth at the least. Hee placeth euery Generall of each regiment according to his degree in the middest of his regiment, so that the porch of his tent may open into the place of assembly, euery capraine hauing his souldiers cabbines so seated and limited vpon the backeside of his owne tent in little lanes and streets, not aboue eight foot breadth, and in forme of a citie, so that they may readily find recourse into the great street or place of assembly when allarmes are giuen. He deuiseith a great open court or spacious square within which the L. Lieutenants tent is pitched, with all his officers about him: vpon the right hand thereof the L. Marischals tent, the Coronell generall on the left, with other counsellors according to their degrees & places,

**C** all opening into the place of assembly; where the master of the ordinance with all his carriages and Artillerie remaineth. Neere to this there must a place of necessitie be intrenched forthwith for preseruation of the powder, aswell from danckenesse, as from all daunger of fire. Also the prouant and carriage-masters with all their victuals & carriages haue places there. Within the virge of the Campe, he doth appoint what ground of advantage shall serue for planting the Ordinance, and that all carriages which shall come in, may make their repaire to the precincts for the Campes defence; the precinct or virge of the Campe, being distended sevenscore foot at least from all tents and cabbines. He seeth vpon euery remoueall that such watches as must serue for

**D** that night be first placed for their ease, making themselues ready for the remoue, and in like sorte all the horse. A spacious street of sevenscore foot at the least must deuide the horse quarter from the foot, through which their horses may with ease passe to watering and forrage. A place of assembly likewise (euen as in the foot quarter) should be made there; that the troupes may with ease come forth vpon present seruice. He likewise appointeth what number of horses must attend euery foot battell according to their places, with other Gouverners, euen as the foote were, sauing that the small streets in their horse quarter must be twentie four foot wide at the least: the Coronell generall having chief place in the midst as before; & his tent opening semblably to the place of assembly. Neere him the Scoutmaster, next to the Coronell of horse; for so much as their offices require a reciprocall vicinitie; their carriages fencing or impaling the Campe together with the footcarts as aforesaid: all the capraines likewise with the Comets of horse receive their billets or places of

**E** 206 D d iii the

the Campe-master, as the foote captaines doe; the Campe-master himselfe is F to be lodged neare the Lord Lieutenant amongst the counsellers; besides him the quarter-masters or harbingers of the field: annext to the L. Marischall his prouost, with the prison of Marischall-sea; betwixt which and the Marischals tent, the prouost is placed. At all assyges the Campe-master accompanieth the Lord Marischall to view the ground, that they may know thereby to distribute it into competent Campes & quarters accordingly, with the certayne number of souldiers apportioned, and destinated to their places in every Campe: the greatest number enuironeth the L. Lieutenant, where the place of assembly should be so large, that (vpon allarme giuen) the whole forces may reunite in present forme of battell, being well instructed and readie: he likewise prouideth that every Campe be well entrenched, sauing where the entries of every street are, seruинг for issue to & fro. And so much because it is one speciall place of seruice in the field, haue I spoken at large of the Campe-master: I will be briefe in the rest for so much as they depend for the most part vpon the former.

The master of the Ordinance (after his charge receiued) must be prouided of all necessaries thereunto: first vnder him in office are a Lieutenant of the Artillerie, certaine Clerks, a Master groome and his Mate, all of them in pay, with all sorts of artificers needfull, as Cannoniers for great Ordinance, seruitors and labourers only for the Cannon, Armorers, Sawyers, Smithes, Pistol-menders, & of other peeces, Enginers, Cutlers, Carpenters, Colleymakers Wheelewrights, Basketters, Coopers: the munition appertaining his office are Lances, Halberts, Partifanes, Billes, Dagges, Pistols, and Pistollets, Corselets with their Burganets, and Pikes, Armonish for horsemen, Lighthorsemens staues, Muskets with their rests, and Bandaleirs, Harquebusies furnished, and also for other necessaries belonging Ordinance, as Serpentine & cornepowder for the Cannon, and other shot of all sorts and quantities, Scaling ladders and bridges, match and plate for ladles, platesheers, gabions for defence of the Cannoniers, okeham, and haife, hatchets, and hedgebillies, forges for smithes, with their implements, hammers, iron and steele, leade for small shot, moulds, stufce for cartages and fireworks, priming powder, with pinnes, rests, wormes, wyers, ramming staues, ladles, flasks, squares, rules, and other Geometricall instruments for planting, levying, and levelling of the Cannon.

It is not to be thought that the Romanes could haue so boldly borne away many victories, with dayly triumph, if the devise of Cannon and gunpowder had beeene vnto them: for these be grieuous and almost daftardish impediments to mens valours, which onely by violence of those enfignes are taken away before they can haue space and opportunitie, to make noble account of their heroycall vertues; which example hath been and is so generall and common, as that it need not be specified. The best vse of them is for offence, as at the batteries of townes, castels, sconces, bulwarks and such like; for they will beat downe the grossest walles, staunching the ditches, and moats vnder them with grauell and rubbish: but to bring them for battell into field (vntil your battells be strong and very well instructed) is thought by diuers

A uers wise Captaines, vaine, and difficult at execution: by good example of the Swizzers, which about 88. yeares since in a battell against the French neere *Navarre*, in a very sodaine and stiffe resolution charged them in the fierie mouthes of theire ordinance, being very many principall peeces of brassee; druing the same from their Tents & munition, which they recovering became Lords of that dayes seruice also. Such artillery must of force be well armed, either with walles, rampiers, gabions, and such like defences, least a resolute enemie seaze vpon them. Some say that the brasen artillerie was knowne and inuentioned many ages since, which *Vincentius Eupanus* citeth out of *Robertus Vulturnius*: but more certaine it is that a chynisticall Monck deuised the same in Germanie.

B The Venetians were said to haue the first vse of them in their warres against the Genoues *Anno. 1380*. To which peeces of Ordinance, diuers names of birds and serpents were giuen; as *Foulcons, Sacars, Muskers, Hawkes, Basalisks, Crocodiles, Salamanders, Lizards, &c.*

The Treasures office in Campe being so well knowne (as at home) needeth not to be stood vpon; onely this he keepeth a muster-booke of the princes forces, pensions, and allowances, distributing to the seuerall offices and places in the field according to their stipends which execute them; which I sayd in the peaceable Treasurer before, must be well husbanded and stored; so that the souldior in seruice (whether hee praie vpon his enemies spoiles or not) be not wanting of his wages, nor pray payment at the Treasurer for which he serueth, being so deerly bought with continuall hazard of life, which he so nobly doth aduenture. The Generall likewise ( respecting his princes honor) should satisfie himselfe with a little, that he may gratifie, reward, and ayde the iust souldier in more. And hence happeneth it that the Prince militant shall haue great occasion to moue his people in the common cause: for the reason well reacheth, that such as in peace till their grounds at home, shoulde for the preseruation thereof, and of their owne wiues, liues, and children sleeping at ease, contribute to their noble and true hearted countrey-men; whose able mindes and bodies are vigilantly devoted, and piacularly sacrificed for their generall safeties in the field.

D. Concerning the Sergeant major of the whole armie, who disposes according to the directions of the Lord Marischall and Coronell generall, all the formes of instructing, and marching of the battells, it weare altogether superfluous, and might rather increase tautologies, then profit the Reader. And these aboue recited offices are all of counsell with the L. Lieutenant generall, all the rest being inferior, and by deputation subiect to them.

In the watch-Captaines, scouts, escurriers, rounders, and centrenels; likewise in all sorts of priuate souldiors and militarie Commanders, vigilancie is principally needfull. How many surprisals of townes, castles, peeces, houses, how many camisadoes in Campes, sodaine eskairmouches, violent and bloody fallies and tryumphs haue been shewed; to the continuall shame of negligent and slouthfull souldiors. And therefore it is a parable or similitude from the spirit of God deliuered in the Gospel, *Vigilate & estore parati: ignorans enim quidam subitanens erit furis aduentus*: For enemies may fitly be resembled vnto thieues

theeues, which by wilie meanes and hidden stratagemes against all othes, F  
treagues, and promises, will many times infringe and violate their faith and  
honesties: as *Macrobius* capaine of the Carthaginians vised the Affirians his  
enemies, whom (being drunke with wine, and mandragoras) he most insi-  
diuously slaughtered: for had not that aduantage encountered them, it would  
haue bene very doubfull of the victorie. And therefore as it is the captaines  
dutie to direct and vigilantly to looke vnto the charge of his watches; so doth  
the soldier shew no lesse honour in carefull obedience for his owne securtie,  
next after the state of his prince and countrey; which (if the captaines doe  
neglect) ought to be with due seuerite punished in them. We read that  
*Moyse* (who was a carefull warrior against the Egyptians) did send out scouts, G  
centrenels, and escurriets: and that *Isaia* that diuine and triumphant capaine  
(purposing the destrucion of Ierico) sent espials which were lodged in *Rha-  
hab*s house. Whcn *Saul* had pitched in Hachilah before Ieshimon, *David* sent  
espials out of the wildernesse, which brought tidings of his approach.

There is a kind of souldiers which are chiefe men of the nobler sort vised  
amongst the Frenchmen, which in that Realme are by common and ancient  
custome in time of speciall seruice, to maintaine themselues, and seruants in  
those wares three moneths; the Frenchmen call them *Banne*, and *Retrobanne*.  
Which as *Procopius* saith, *Romani bannum, signum dixerunt, & bandoferum, ducis  
belli signum ferentem*: the Romanes did call this word *bannum*, that which  
we call ensigne, and *Bandoferus* him which beareth the captaines ensigne:  
& from thence should seeme that anciently the name of ensignes were called  
banners; wherein certaine emblemes and armorie of the noble leaders and  
captaines were knownen and distinguished from others: also when any pub-  
like edict was diuulged or proclaimed it was called *Bannire*, & in *bannum  
soluere*, which signifieth as much, as to set it to the view and knowledge of the  
whole haost. Likewise the creation of knights according to their deserts af-  
ter the warres, being many and of diuers orders, I will not insist vpon because  
they be so well known. The creation of knights, bannerets (which is vnder the  
princes standard, being displayed) is the most honorable knighthood in the  
field: for they be called *equites redubitis*, twise knighted, for their martiall pro-  
wesse: & such as in honor of warre, and for their noble atchievements by mili-  
tarie worthinesse, attaine knighthoods of collers, such as the *Chealliers sans  
reproch*, devised by *Lewis* the eleventh at *Ambois* 1469. of the first Institution  
being thirtie sixe Nobles of the Realme, and since more according to the  
Kings pleasure, and such Noble men his friendes of other nations, as for  
their valour in seruing him in his warres are invested to that honor at this day:  
Likewise the order of *Saint George*, instituted by King *Edward* the third: the  
ceremonies whereof being so well knowne and celebrated at *Windsor*, I let  
pass; with that Order of the golden Fleece, which *Philip* Duke of Burgun-  
die instituted at *Dijoun* in France; which King *Philip* of Spaine and the Em-  
peror *Randolph*, by right of the Emperor *Charles* the first (whose mother was  
heire of that Dutchie) at this day retaine, as their order of honorable Knighthood:  
and all these noble Orders with diuers of like fashion first devised as a  
reward

*Isaia: chap. 20.*  
*Sam. 1. chap. 26.*

*Lib. 4. b. 1.  
randolph.*

A reward and mood of their militarie vertues : and in that respect, the Romanes did bestow vpon their worthiest captaines and militarie commanders, horse and furniture, with rich apparelons, bracelets, chaines, girdles, and cravates of pure gold, lances, with other warlike habilimenta, and armorie: such as *Cicinus Dentatus* received of the for his fortitude shewed in their warres, which were golden spurres and a sword, with the kings personall embrac, as our knyghts of honour are created at this day. The most famous and best renowned souldiers that in our times haue bene noted, were *Ambrose Dudley* the old Earle of Warwike, *Thomas Rascliff* Earle of Sussex, the three brethern of that honourable race of *Riccs*, the two noble and vnfortunate Earles of Essex, bothe deceased, the father and sonne, the Lord Willoughbie late Gouernour of Barwicke, Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Philip Sydney*, who singeth in heauen crowned both with martiall and ciuill girlandes, Sir *Thomas Morgan* : but there haue bene so manie, and yet are of gallant heroicall spirits aliue amongst vs ; that it were infinite to reckon, and would rather bring one into suspition of that fault (for which I detest to conuerse in the houses of great princes) then any waye answere to the worthinesse, of them whom I commemorate.

And heere least I might vnhappilie seeme too curious or tedious, will I

C knit vp my labours, satisfying my selfe with a little taste of some principles in euery counsell : forasmuch as (if I should write all that ought in these discourses to be set downe) it would be both infinite in regard of the matter, and needelesse if your Grace respect the learneder writings of others : not crauing more then beneuolence for my voluntarie liberalitie, which is the best creature that a double pouerfull proceeding from my singel fortunes inward, and exterior affordeth. From the profane multitude full of error and confitacion (whose opinions distand from veritie so farre as England (according to *Plommeys* tables) is diuided from the Indies) I will appere by protestation : that, they which leane vpon vaine hope and idle counsels, which threaten and disdaine sea-stormes, slouthfully wallowing in their warme beddes at land, and which in tempestuous times are immeasurably blasted with ignominious feare and puillanitie may not bee taken for equall judges of my studies. How meane my matter is, how naked my sentences, how little my travuels, how bare my knowledge, I must acknowledge, that I know ; neither is it written in arrogancie; and it is well spoken, *that nothing can be spoken, which hath not beeene first spoken* : and I will pray that my studies (being published) may not be forespoken with inuenomed tonges,

D swolne too great for their mouthes ; but to them that are iust and truely noble, I will simply submit them, such as they bee with all modesty, heartily loathing (as I still professe) without and within, all ostentation and hypocrisie.

E

*All Glorie be to the blessed seede of all, in all immortall perfection of incomprehensible goodnesse, euerlastingly raigning in that vnconceiueable power of salvation by miraculous faith inanimate, in the true charitable roote of the ineffable Trinitie, mystically reveiled in omnipotent unitie.*

**FINIS.**

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